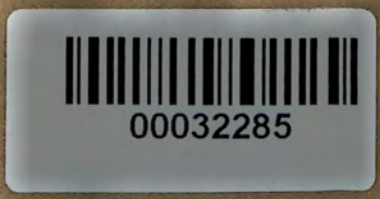
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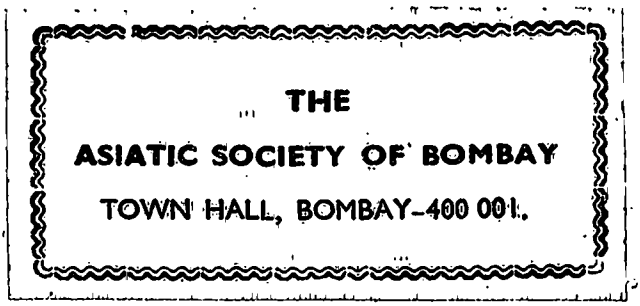

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE PRETENDERS AND THEIR ADHERENTS.

By JOHN HENEAGE JESSE,

AUTHOR OF

"MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF ENGLAND;" "GEORGE SELWYN AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES," ETC.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

JAMES FREDERICK EDWARD STUART.

PAGE

CHAPTER I.—Birth of the Prince.—How viewed by the two opposite Parties.—Arguments for and against his being a surreptitious Offspring.—Conduct of the French Court.—Commencement of the Revolution.—Distressing Situation of the King and Queen.—Injustice of Depriving the Prince of his natural Rights . . . 1

CHAPTER II.—Death of James II. and William III.—Hopes of the Pretender from the Accession of Queen Anne.—Project of Louis XIV. for his Restoration.—Failure of the Expedition.—The Chevalier's Letter to his Sister.—Death of the Queen, and accession of George I.—Unpopularity of the Hanoverians.—Projected Rising of the Pretender's Friends 19

CHAPTER III.—The Earl of Mar and other Nobles swear Fealty to James the Third.—Publicly proclaimed King in Scotland.—Inactivity of the Earl of Mar.—Battle of Sheriffmuir.—Retreat of the Chevalier's Forces.—Arrests of his Adherents in England.—Defeat and Surrender of his Army at Preston.—Arrival of the Chevalier from France.—His Journey to Scoon 40

CHAPTER IV.—Advance of the Duke of Argyll.—Dejection of the Chevalier.—His Retreat to Montrose, and Flight to the Continent.—His Arrival in France, and Dismissal of Lord Bolingbroke.—Proceeds to Rome.—His Marriage with the Princess Sobieski.—Project of Charles XII. for his Restoration.—His Visit to Madrid.—Project of Alberoni for the Invasion of England.—Its Failure.—His Character towards the Close of Life.—His Death, and Funeral Obsequies 57

THE PRINCESS CLEMENTINA MARIA SOBIESKI.

PAGE

Birth and early Character of the Princess.—Selected for the Wife of the Pretender.—Wogan's Account of his Romantic Adventures to carry the Proposal to her.—Arrested, and confined in a Convent at Innspruck.—Stratagem for her Release.—Arrival at Bologna.—Her Reception by the Chevalier.—Medal struck in Commemoration of her Escape.—Disagreement with her Husband, and Separation.—Keysler's Character of her in her Fifty-fifth Year.—Her Death . 79

JAMES RADCLIFFE, EARL OF DERWENTWATER.

His Birth and early Connexions.—How related to the Stuarts.—Joins the Insurgents.—His Arrest, Trial, and Defence.—His Sentence and Death.—Question as to his Place of Burial determined . 90

WILLIAM MAXWELL, EARL OF NITHISDALE.

His Connexion with the Insurgents.—His Committal to the Tower.—Escapes in Female Disguise.—Lady Nithisdale's Account of his Escape 102

SIMON LORD LOVAT.

His early Attachment to the House of Stuart.—Assumes the Title, and claims the Estates, of the deceased Lord Lovat.—His Daughter institutes legal Proceedings against her Relative.—Lord Lovat's Stratagem to make her his Wife frustrated.—His atrocious Marriage with her Mother.—Warrant issued for his Arrest.—Sets the Government at defiance.—His Flight to the Court of the Pretender.—Returns to Scotland as the accredited Agent of the Stuarts.—Arrested by the French King for Treachery.—Enters into Holy Orders to effect his Release.—Joins the Society of Jesuits.—Returns to Scotland, and joins the Adherents of the House of Hanover.—Obtains undisputed Possession of his Titles for his Reward.—Joins the Insurgents after the Battle of Preston.—His Arrest after the Battle of Culloden.—His Trial and Execution . . . 114

WILLIAM GORDON, VISCOUNT KENMURE.

Account of the Family of Gordon, Viscount Kenmure.—Lord Kenmure's disinterested Conduct in espousing the Cause of the Stuarts.—Taken Prisoner at Preston.—His Trial and Execution . 135

PAGE

THE DUKE OF ORMOND 138
THE EARL OF MAR 139
GEORGE KEITH, EARL MARISCHAL 140
ROBERT DALZIEL, EARL OF CARNWATH 142
GEORGE SETON, EARL OF WINTOUN 143
WILLIAM WIDDRINGTON, LORD WIDDRINGTON . . . 144
WILLIAM MURRAY, LORD NAIRN 145
THOMAS FORSTER, ESQ. 146

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.

CHAPTER I.—Birth and youthful History of the Prince.—Serves under Noailles at Dettingen.—Hopes and Expectations of the Jacobites from his Character.—Joins the Expedition under Marshal Saxe.—Dispersion of the French Fleet, and Disappointment of the Prince's Hopes.—His Letter to his Father on the eve of his Departure for Scotland 150

CHAPTER II.—Arrival of the young Prince in Scotland.—His Interview with Macdonald of Boisdale.—Its Influence upon him.—Assembly of Chieftains on board the Doutelle.—Landing of the Prince.—Anecdotes of his Landing by Bishop Forbes.—Holds his Court at Borrodaile.—Interview between the Prince and Cameron of Lochiel 171

CHAPTER III.—Skirmishes between Captain Scott's Detachment and the Rebels.—Surrender of the King's Troops.—Lochiel's Treatment of Captain Scott.—The Pretender's Reception.—Character of his Troops.—Site chosen for "Raising the Standard."—The Pretender's Behaviour to his Prisoners 192

CHAPTER IV.—March of Sir John Cope into the Highlands.—Difficulties of his Situation.—The Pretender's March for the Lowlands.—His ingratiating Manners.—Their Effects on the Scottish Chiefs.—Duncan Cameron.—Arrival at Perth.—Charles visits the Palace of Scoon 211

PAGE

CHAPTER V.—March of the Pretender from Perth to Dumblane.—March continued.—Arrival in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.—Cowardly Retreat of Colonel Gardiner's Troops.—Consternation of the Authorities.—Charles's Letter to the Town Council—Their Conduct upon the receipt of it 231

CHAPTER VI.—Occupation of Edinburgh by the Rebels.—Enthusiastic Behaviour of Mrs. Murray of Broughton.—Arrival of Charles in the Capital of his Ancestors.—Gives a Ball at Holyrood.—Marches to give Battle to Sir John Cope.—Preparations for Battle. 247

CHAPTER VII.—Relative Strength of the opposing Armies.—Order of Battle.—Gallant Charge of the Rebels.—Heroic Conduct and Death of Colonel Gardiner.—Total Defeat of the English Forces at Preston Pans.—Conduct of Charles after the Battle. . . . 265

CHAPTER VIII.—Pusillanimous Conduct of the Clergy.—Proclamation of Charles inviting them to return to their Duties.—Daily Courts at Holyrood.—Balls.—Charles's Desire to march into England counteracted by his Chiefs.—Their reluctant Consent to accompany him. 285

CHAPTER IX.—The Pretender's March into England.—Strength of his Army.—Arrival at Carlisle.—Courageous Conduct of Sergeant Dickson.—Arrival at Manchester.—Mrs. Skyring presents her Purse to the Chevalier.—His Arrival at Derby.—The Duke of Cumberland's Army only Nine Miles distant from the Rebels. . . 303

CHAPTER X.—Charles desirous of marching upon London.—Reasons of his Commanders for a Retreat towards the North.—His reluctant Consent.—Conduct of his Army on its Retreat.—Lord George Murray gives a Check to the Duke of Cumberland's advanced Guard.—George the Fourth and Mrs. Pennycuick.—Surrender of Carlisle to the Duke of Cumberland.—The Pretender continues his Retreat.—His Arrival at Glasgow. . . . 322

CHAPTER XI.—The Pretender's Retreat to Stirling.—The Duke succeeded in the Command by Lieutenant-general Hawley—his Character.—Surprised by the Reappearance of the Pretender's Forces.—Battle of Falkirk. 349

PAGE

CHAPTER XII.—Charles continues his Retreat northward.—Duke of Cumberland resumes the Command of the Army of the North.—His Arrival at Stirling.—Charles's Escape from Lord Loudon's Snare to take his Person.—Retaliates by attacking Lord Loudon at Inverness.—Chivalrous Adventure of Lord G. Murray.—Incidents showing the Attachment of the Scottish Ladies to the Cause of the Chevalier.—Commences his March for Culloden. . . . 367

CHAPTER XIII.—Charles's Determination to attack the English Army.—Night March.—His Displeasure at Lord George Murray for ordering a Retreat.—Arrival at Culloden Moor.—Disposition of the contending Armies in Sight of each other.—Battle of Culloden.—Total Defeat of the Pretender's Troops.—His Flight.—Barbarities of the Duke of Cumberland's Soldiers. . . 390

MEMOIRS

OF THE

PRETENDERS AND THEIR ADHERENTS.

JAMES FREDERICK EDWARD STUART.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of the Prince.—How viewed by the two opposite Parties.—Arguments for and against his being a surreptitious Offspring. — Conduct of the French Court. — Commencement of the Revolution. — Distressing situation of the King and Queen.—Injustice of Depriving the Prince of his natural Rights.

JAMES FREDERICK EDWARD STUART, the only son of James the Second by his second wife, Mary of Modena, was born at St. James's Palace on the 10th of June, 1688. The event, in proportion as it was hailed by James, and by the Roman Catholic portion of his subjects, as a peculiar boon from Heaven, excited the terror and suspicion of the majority of the English nation: it took place, moreover, in the midst of those oppressive and unconstitutional acts, which, only a few months afterwards, lost him the sovereignty of three kingdoms. Already the arbitrary conduct of the misguided monarch, — the revival of the eccle-

siastical commission, the suspension of the penal statutes against the Roman Catholics, the attempt on Magdalen College, and the arrest of the seven bishops,—had excited a formidable spirit of opposition on the part of the English nation: indeed, at the time when the Jesuits and courtiers who surrounded the throne were celebrating the birth of the infant Prince, their rejoicings might almost be heard to intermingle with the revilings heaped by the excited populace against the Court, and with the prayers and benedictions which they offered up for the seven bishops, as they followed and encouraged them in their triumphant passage to the Tower.

At such a crisis, therefore,—when the country was in a general state of ferment from the domineering spirit of aggression displayed by the Roman Catholics on the one hand, and, on the other, by the devoted resolution on the part of the rest of the nation to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in defence of their civil and religious liberties,—we can scarcely wonder, however we may regret the fact, that every expedient should have been adopted by the enemies of James to heap odium on his name, or that party zeal should have invented even the most improbable falsehoods for the purpose of injuring his cause.

Among these unworthy expedients was one which, at any other period of our history, would have been treated with the contempt it deserved, but which, in the existing state of extraordinary excitement, was swallowed with greedy delight. From the time when the young Queen had been first declared to be pregnant, a report had been sedulously spread by the

enemies of the Court, that the King, in order to transmit his dominions and his bigotry to a Roman Catholic heir, had determined to impose a surreptitious offspring on his Protestant subjects. As early as the month of January, five months before the Queen's delivery, we find Lord Clarendon inserting the following curious passage in his Diary:—"Jan. 15th. In the morning I went to St. James's church; this is the thanksgiving-day appointed for the Queen's being with child; there were not above two or three in the church who brought the form of prayer with them.* It is strange to see how the Queen's being with child is everywhere ridiculed, as if scarce any body believed it to be true: good God help us!"

Neither was the disbelief in the Queen's pregnancy confined to the vulgar and misinformed. Men of the first rank and intelligence either believed, or affected to believe, that an imposture was contemplated; and even the two great historians of the period, the Bishops

* Among other circumstances which gave rise to some disagreeable comment at the period, was the fact, that the form of thanksgiving was drawn up, not by the proper person, the Archbishop of Canterbury, but by three bishops, who were in favour at Court, and who were consequently selected for the task. These persons were Thomas Spratt, Bishop of Rochester; Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough; and Nathaniel Crew, Bishop of Durham.

Two Toms and a Nat
In Council sat,
To rig out a thanksgiving
And made a prayer
For a thing in the air,
That 's neither dead nor living, &c.

This ballad, which appears to have been highly popular at the period, affords additional proof how early suspicions were entertained as to the Queen's being really with child.

of Peterborough and Salisbury, unequivocally give utterance to their suspicions on the subject. "It had been for some months uncertain," says Bishop Kennett, "whether Windsor, Hampton Court, or Whitehall, was to be the place where the Queen designed to lie in. But on the sudden, her Majesty had this week given orders for the fitting up of an apartment for that purpose in St. James's House, and sent many repeated commands that it must be finished by Saturday night. Accordingly, her Majesty, on Saturday June 9, was carried in a chair to St. James's, after she had played at cards at Whitehall till eleven o'clock at night; and the next morning, between the hours of nine and ten, people were not a little surprised to hear that she was brought to bed of a Prince; nay, *the news was told with as much confidence before the delivery as after it*,* as if it were a secret committed to some people who could not keep it."† Bishop Burnet, also, among other specious arguments in support of a supposititious birth, observes:—"The Queen, for six or seven years, had been in such a wretched state of health, that her death had been constantly anticipated; she had buried all her children shortly after they had been born, and her affairs were managed with a mysterious secrecy, to which

* As I went by St. James's I heard a bird sing,
That the Queen had for certain a boy for the King;
But one of the soldiers did laugh and did say,
It was born over night, and brought forth the next day.
This bantling was heard at St. James's to squall,
Which made the Queen make so much haste from Whitehall.
Song, sung by two gentlemen at the Maypole, in the Strand.

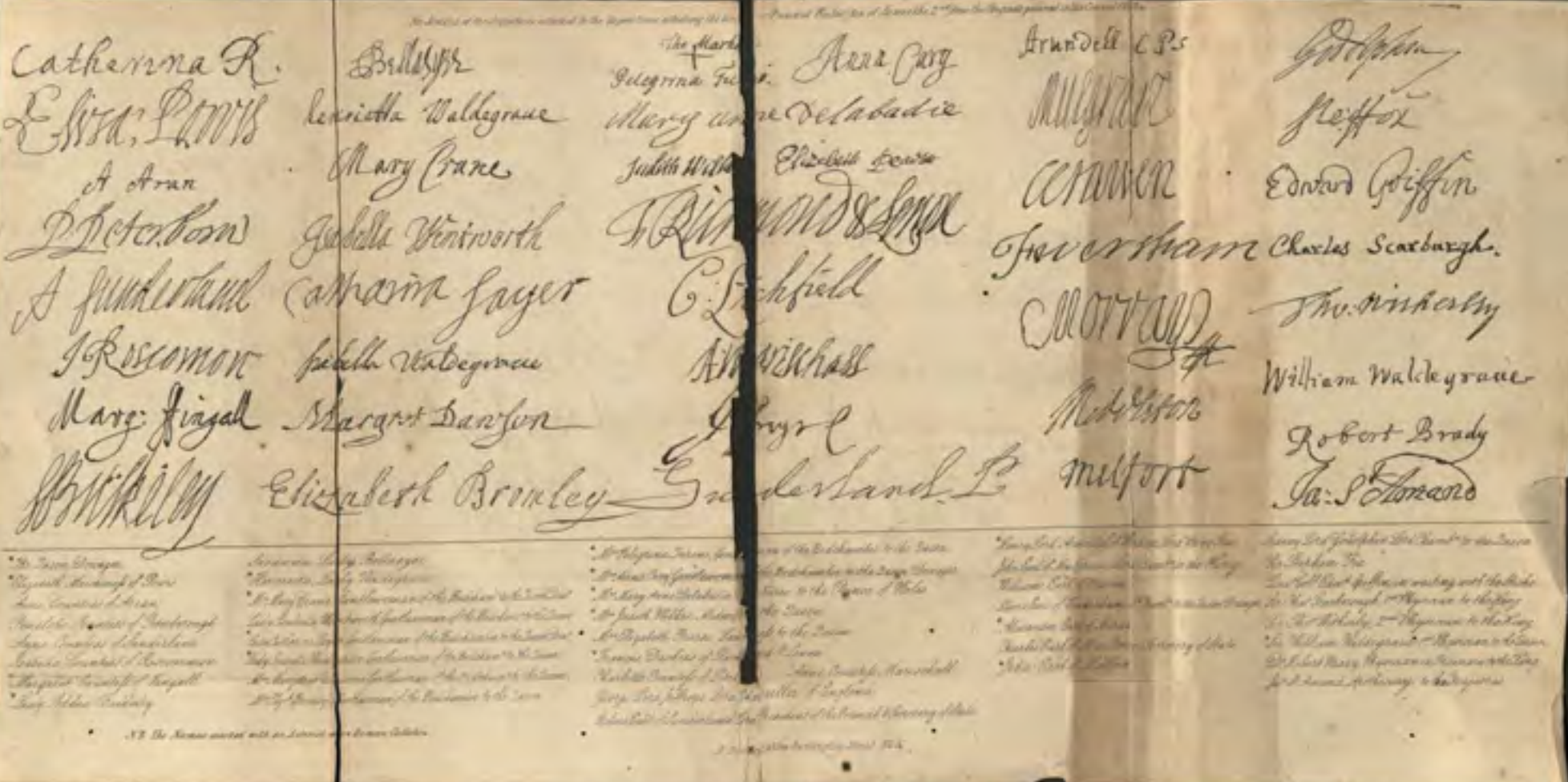
† Bishop Kennett's Complete History, vol. iii. p. 512.

none had access but a few Papists." And the Bishop afterwards adds,—"What truth soever there may be in these reports, this is certain, that the method in which this matter was conducted, from first to last, was very unaccountable. If an imposture had been intended, it could not have been otherwise managed."

The following may be briefly mentioned as the principal arguments adduced at the period in support of the accusation brought against the royal family, of having imposed a surreptitious Prince of Wales on the nation. It was alleged, that in consequence of his early irregularities, and from other private reasons, the King had become incapable of having children;—that the Queen was not only in a very delicate state of health, but had been more than six years without bearing a child;—that her sudden removal from Whitehall to St. James's, on the eve of her delivery, was equally mysterious and unaccountable;—that the event took place on a Sunday, during divine service, when most of the Protestant ladies of the Court were at chapel;—that neither the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Princess of Denmark, nor the Dutch ambassador, (the latter the representative of the Princess of Orange, the nearest Protestant heir to the throne,) were in attendance at the birth;—that, previous to her delivery, the Queen permitted neither the Princess of Denmark, nor any of the Protestant ladies of her Court, to satisfy themselves of her pregnancy;—that, during the labour, the curtains of the bed were drawn more closely than was usual on such occasions; and lastly, in order to account for the manner in which the child was imposed on those

who were in attendance at the birth, it was insisted, that an apartment had been purposely selected for the Queen's accommodation, in which there was a door near the head of the bed which opened on a back staircase;—that though the weather was hot, and the room heated by the crowd of persons who were present, a warming-pan had been introduced into the bed;—and, finally, that the pan contained a new-born child, which immediately afterwards was presented to the by-standers as the offspring of the Queen.

Such were the principal features of the celebrated "warming-pan story," which, however improbable and even ridiculous it may appear to the sober judgment of a succeeding generation, continued to obtain credence for more than half a century;—a story which first entailed on the son and grandson of James the Second the famous and invidious title of "Pretenders;" and which, in a word, had the effect of undermining, far more than any other circumstance whatever, the cause of the ill-fated Stuarts. In regard to the arguments which have been brought forward to refute this remarkable fiction, there can be no necessity to dwell on them at length. It is sufficient to observe, that at the time of the Queen's delivery there were present in the royal apartment, besides the nurses and medical attendants, forty-two persons of rank,—consisting of eighteen members of the Privy Council, four other noblemen, and twenty ladies, including the Queen Dowager, all of whom, as far as circumstances would allow, were witnesses of the birth of the Prince of Wales. By the desire of James, the solemn depositions of these persons, twenty-four of whom were



Protestants, were taken down on oath before the Privy Council, and may still be seen among the archives of the Council Office.* The evidence of the ladies, who were of course permitted a nearer approach to the royal bed, though of a nature too delicate to be recapitulated, is sufficiently decisive. The officers of state, moreover, and other male persons who were present, (and among these were the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Secretary of State,) deposed, that they had seen the royal infant immediately after the Queen's delivery; that they perceived it to be a Prince, and that it had all the signs of having been just born. No individua , indeed, who was introduced in after years to the exil l representative of the Stuarts,—supposing him t ve been previously acquainted with the features and erson of his misguided father,—ever for a moment questioned that he was the legitimate offspring of King James.†

Notwithstanding the gloomy aspect of affairs, and the general suspicion which prevailed that the King's bigotry had induced him to impose a spurious off-

* So anxious was James to clear away the doubts which hung over the birth of his heir, that he condescended to order the publication of the several declarations made before the Council, with all their indelicate details. They were printed in the shape of a small pamphlet, which I have now before me, entitled, "Depositions made in Council, on Monday the 22nd of October, 1688, concerning the Birth of the Prince of Wales," and is stated to be published, "By his Majesty's Special Command."

† It is a remarkable fact, that as early as 1682, when the Queen, then Duchess of York, was declared to be pregnant, the same rumours were propagated as on the present occasion, that an imposture was intended to be obtruded on the nation. Fortunately on that occasion the infant proved to be a female, or doubtless some improbable fiction would have been invented similar to that which obtained credit in 1688. In the

spring on his people, the Court thought proper to celebrate the birth and baptism of the young Prince with the usual splendour and rejoicings. The King knighted the royal accoucheur, Sir William Waldegrave, by the Queen's bedside; he distributed magnificent presents among his ministers; and gave large sums of money to different charities. With his usual imprudence, James had obtained the consent of the Pope to become one of the sponsors of the child; the ceremony of baptism being performed according to the rites of the Romish Church. The customary congratulations were received from foreign powers, who despatched ambassadors on the occasion; and among these came, from the Court of France, the celebrated Count de Grammont, who, a quarter of a century before, had carried off *la belle Hamilton* from the gay Court of Charles the Second.*

The tidings of the birth of a Prince of Wales was naturally received with unequivocal satisfaction by the French Court, who not only trusted to see the throne of Great Britain transmitted to a Roman Catholic Prince, but were elated at seeing the Princess

Observator, No. 194, printed August 23rd, 1682, is the following curious passage: — "If it had pleased God to give his Royal Highness the blessing of a *son*, as it proved a *daughter*, you were prepared to make a Perkin of him. To what end did you take so much pains else, by your instruments and intelligences, to hammer it into the people's heads that the Duchess of York was *not* with child? And so, in case of a son, to represent him as an *impostor*; whereas, you have now taken off the mask in confessing the daughter. I would have the impression of this cheat sink so far into the heads and hearts of all honest men, as never to be effaced or forgotten. *For we must expect, that the same flam shall, at any time hereafter, be trumpt up again upon the like occasion.*"

* Ellis's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 5.

Mary, and, with her, their arch-enemy, the Prince of Orange, thrust aside from the prospect of succession. On the 16th of June, Sir Bevil Skelton, Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of France, writes from Paris to the Earl of Sunderland,—"On Thursday morning, about six o' the clock, the courier which came to the Cardinal Nuncio brought me the happy news of the birth of a Prince; for which greatest of blessings Heaven be praised! I immediately therefore went to Versailles, where M. de Barillon's courier had brought the news at twelve the night before. I found so general a joy in all people there, as I never yet saw upon any occasion. His most Christian Majesty, at coming from Council to go to mass, called me to him, and, with a satisfaction in his face not to be expressed, told me that, next to the King, my master, no man had a greater joy than he for the news of a Prince being born; 'and,' says he, 'I am the more pleased, that Barillon writes 'tis a strong and healthful child.' And the Dukes de la Tremouille, and Rochefoucault, with Monsieur de Croissy, who were at his waking, at which time the news was brought him by the latter, told me they never saw any man so joyful. Madame la Dauphine is indisposed, and in bed; yet she sent for me, and said, though she saw no man, yet she could not forbear rejoicing with me upon account of the great news,—and expressed great joy. And the little Duke of Burgundy, whilst I was talking to Madame la Maréchale de la Motte, of his own accord, told me, that he would that night, for joy, order threescore fusees to be fired. Madame la Maréchale intends, in October next, to give me something to send

to the Queen, to be hung about the Prince's neck, which prevents the inconveniences that commonly attend the breeding of teeth. The same has been used to these three young Princes, with good success."*

The birth of an heir to his throne was not destined to be long a subject of congratulation to the unfortunate James. Six months had not elapsed from the period of the Queen's delivery, when the increasing disaffection among his subjects, the landing of the Prince of Orange, and the near approach of the invading army to the metropolis, determined the King to secure, by any means that might offer themselves, the escape of the Queen and her young offspring to a foreign and more hospitable shore. Fortune for once favoured the unhappy monarch. There happened to be lying off Gravesend a yacht, that had been appointed to convey to France the gay and gallant Count de Lauzun, the especial favourite of Louis the Fourteenth. Accordingly, without betraying his intentions to the Queen, the King sent a messenger for Lauzun, who, entering enthusiastically into his views, guaranteed, within a short time, to provide every requisite for ensuring the object they had in view.

The King, harassed and distressed, then retired to bed, but had slept only a short time when he was awakened by the Count de Lauzun and Monsieur de St. Victor, who acquainted him that every preparation had been made for her Majesty's flight. James instantly rose from bed, and repaired to the apart-

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 263 and 264.

ment of the Queen, who no sooner was made to understand the part which she was so unexpectedly called upon to take, than she threw herself at the King's feet, and, in a passion of grief, implored him to allow her to remain with him, and share his dangers or his flight. But James turned a deaf ear to her entreaties, and almost coldly gave directions that the Marchioness of Powis, the Prince's governess, as well as his two nurses, should be instantly awakened. His sensations, perhaps, at this particular moment,—occasioned by the wonderful reverse which had taken place in his fortunes, and the prospect of parting, perhaps for the last time, with a wife and child whom he so tenderly loved,—were such as were little to be envied. Nevertheless, he preserved his usual coldness of manner till the moment when the infant was brought into the room, when his feelings suddenly got the mastership of him, and, affectionately embracing his child, he enjoined the Count de Lauzun, with a tremulous voice, to watch carefully over his invaluable charge.*

It would be difficult to imagine a position more distressing, than that in which the young and beautiful Queen found herself suddenly placed in this extraordinary crisis. At three o'clock on a December morning, bearing her infant son in her arms, and accompanied by her trembling attendants, she stole

* On the day of the Queen's flight, (the 10th of December,) the King writes to the Earl of Dartmouth, — "Things having so very bad an aspect, I would no longer defer securing the Queen and my son, which I hope I have done; and that by to-morrow by noon they will be out of the reach of my enemies. I am at ease now I have sent them away."— *Macpherson's Orig. Papers*, vol. i. p. 297.

in a close disguise down the privy stairs at Whitehall to the water's edge, dreading every moment lest a cry from her beloved charge should attract the attention of the guards. The weather, too, was peculiarly inclement, even for the month of December; the night was extremely dark; there was a high and piercing wind; the rain fell incessantly, and the river which she had to cross was unusually swollen. On such a night, the Queen of Great Britain crossed the Thames in an open boat to Lambeth, where a hired coach had been appointed to meet her, but the arrival of which had by some accident been delayed. "During the time," says Dalrymple, "that she was kept waiting, she took shelter under the walls of an old church at Lambeth; turning her eyes, streaming with tears, sometimes on the Prince, unconscious of the miseries which attend upon royalty, and who, upon that account, raised the greater compassion in her breast,—and sometimes to the innumerable lights of the city, amidst the glimmerings of which, she in vain explored the palace in which her husband was left, and started at every sound she heard from thence."*

While the unfortunate Queen remained in this distressing situation, an incident occurred which very nearly led to her falling into the hands of her enemies. "The Queen," says Father Orleans, "was waiting in the rain, under the church wall, for a coach that was being got ready, when the curiosity of a man, who happened to come out of a neighbouring inn with a light, gave considerable cause of alarm. He was making

* Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. i. p. 238.

towards the spot where she was standing, when Riva, one of her attendants, suddenly rushed forward and jostled him, so that they both fell into the mire. It was a happy diversion, as the stranger believing it to be the result of accident, they both apologized, and so the matter ended." From Lambeth the Queen journeyed by land to Gravesend, where, in the character of an Italian lady returning to her own country, she embarked with her infant charge on board the yacht which was waiting for her. The precaution, it seems, had been taken of securing the services of three Irish officers, who remained near the captain during the voyage, ready to perform any desperate action, in the event of their interference being required. The Queen, however, was allowed to remain unmolested in her cabin, and, after an expeditious voyage, arrived safely at Calais, from whence she was conducted to St. Germains with all the honours befitting her rank.

Within a few weeks from this period occurred those memorable events in England which terminated in the expulsion of James the Second, and in his infant son being thrust aside from the succession. That the unhappy King, by the violation of those fundamental laws which he had sworn to uphold, and by his endeavours to subvert the constitution of the country, had deservedly forfeited the power which he had so grossly abused, there are few who will be inclined to call in question. But, in deposing the guilty father, we cannot but be struck by the injustice of that act of arbitrary power on the part of the legislature, which at the same time took upon itself to punish the innocent son;—an act which, for more

than sixty years, continued to embarrass and distract the three kingdoms; which poured forth the blood which flowed in Ireland during the following year; and from which resulted those massacres, proscriptions, and executions, which followed the suppression of the insurrections of 1715 and 1745.

In order to give a colouring of justice to the proceedings of the legislature, and perhaps to advance the views of the Prince of Orange to the throne, the old story of the Prince's supposititious birth was confidently insisted upon. The result was, that a mere party lie had, in the end, a far greater effect in changing an ancient dynasty than even the errors and the bigotry of the deposed monarch, or the advance of the Stadtholder at the head of his victorious troops. The Revolution of 1688 should have stood on higher grounds. All sense of justice, however, had been lost in the exultation of the moment; and while the nation hastened to worship the rising sun, and to follow the Prince of Orange in his triumphant progress to the palace of the Stuarts, it was natural that the claims of an exiled and powerless infant should be completely forgotten by the majority, and advocated only by the few.

It was not till the English people found themselves encumbered by a race of foreign sovereigns, ignorant alike of their language and their customs, — it was not till they discovered themselves to be perpetually involved in continental wars on account of a petty German Electorate, nor till the horrors of repeated civil insurrections discovered to them the inconvenience of a disputed succession, — that they began to

reflect on the misfortunes which had been inflicted upon them by the over-zeal of their predecessors, and on the injustice of making the child responsible for the misconduct of the father.

What offence, indeed, had the young Prince been guilty of, that he should have been deprived in so summary a manner of his legitimate rights; or what policy was there in transferring the succession to his sisters, in whose veins the blood of the ill-fated Stuarts ran as plentifully as in his own? Exiled from his country, and deprived of his splendid birthright, even before he was acquainted with the meaning of the term, as yet his infantine mind could have received no dangerous impressions from the precepts or example of his misguided parent. Amiable and tractable, indeed, as he afterwards proved, there can be little doubt, that had he been educated under the eye of a careful regency, he would at least have proved as respectable a sovereign as either of the German Electors who subsequently filled his place. It may be argued, and certainly with sufficient reason, that had an offer been made to the deposed monarch of educating his son in England, the same bigotry, (which, in the words of a dignitary of his own Church, had caused him "to lose three kingdoms for an old mass,"*) would equally have induced him to surrender on the part of his heir, all claim to the

* "The King's intemperate zeal was ridiculed even by the Court of Rome. And how must he have been mortified, if, upon his first appearance at Versailles, after his abdication, he had heard Cardinal——say to the person who stood next to him, — 'See the man who lost three kingdoms for an old mass!'" — *Dr. King's Anecdotes of his own Time*, p. 127, note.

throne. Nevertheless, the proposition ought unquestionably to have been made; or, at least, some precautions might have been taken for preventing the removal to a foreign land, of the heir to the throne, who was thus certain to be impregnated with the most pernicious doctrines.

It is remarkable, that William the Third should apparently have been the first to feel alarm at the dangerous precedent which had been created in his favour, and to anticipate those convulsions and disasters which subsequently resulted from the succession becoming a disputed one. It is a fact, indeed, of which our ancestors appear to have been ignorant, that, after the death of his Queen, William actually took upon himself the responsibility of signifying his assent to the exiled Court at St. Germains, that if the young Prince were sent to England to be educated in the Protestant faith, he would give his personal consent to his succeeding him on the throne.* James, however, as might have been anticipated, turned a deaf ear to the unpalatable proposition.

Of the early history of the young Prince, no particulars of any interest have been handed down to us. He continued to reside with his parents at St. Germains, till the death of his father on the 16th of September, 1701, at which period he had attained to his thirteenth year. According to the Stuart Papers, the dying monarch, in his last moments, "sent for the Prince, his son, who, at his first entrance, seeing the King with a pale and dying countenance, the bed

* See King James's Memoirs of Himself. Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 87. Macpherson's Orig. Papers, vol. i. pp. 552, 553.

all covered with blood, burst out, as well as all about him, into the most violent expressions of grief. As soon as he came to the bed-side, the King, with a sort of contentedness in his look, stretched forth his arms to embrace him; and then, speaking with a force and vehemence that better suited with his zeal than the weak condition he was in, conjured him to adhere firmly to the Catholic faith, let what might be the consequence of it, and be faithful in the service of God; to be obedient and respectful to the Queen, the best of mothers; and to be ever grateful to the King of France, to whom he had so many obligations. Those who were present, apprehending that the concern and fervour with which he spoke might do him prejudice, desired the Prince might withdraw: which the King being troubled at, said,—'Do not take away my son till I have given him my blessing, at least;' which when he had done, the Prince returned to his apartment, and the little Princess was brought to his bedside, to whom he spoke to the same effect, while she, with the abundance of her innocent tears, showed how sensibly she was touched with the languishing condition the King, her father, was in."

Shortly afterwards, the French King, Louis the Fourteenth, was admitted to the presence of the dying monarch, when an affecting interview took place between the two sovereigns. When Louis entered the apartment, James, who was engaged in inward prayer, was lying on his back, with his eyes shut, while his servants were performing religious services on their knees around him. When the French King approached the bed, James, who was now unable to

articulate, pressed his hand tenderly, and dropped over it a tear or two of grateful affection. Louis, on his part, is said to have been deeply touched by so affecting a sight of humbled greatness, and even to have burst into tears. He did his utmost, however, to cheer and console the dying Prince, and having given him his solemn promise to protect, and hereafter acknowledge his heir, he retired weeping from the melancholy scene. As he passed to his coach, he called for the officer of the guard, to whom he gave orders to proclaim the young Prince immediately after his father should have expired. Accordingly, as soon as James was known to be no more, his son was proclaimed King of Great Britain, by the title of James the Third, amidst the flourish of trumpets, the pomp of pursuivants and heralds, and all the ceremonies usual on such occasions. In due time, his rights were also acknowledged by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy.*

* Charles Lyttelton writes to his father, Sir Charles Lyttelton: — "Paris, 27th of September, 1701. The next day the young King went to Versailles to return the King of France's visit, who treated him with the same ceremony and respect that he was used to treat his father, but with a great deal more tenderness, as considering he is very young. When he met him a-top of the stairs, he took him in his arms, and embraced him with as much kindness and tenderness as if he had been his own son. He conducted him into a room where there were two arm-chairs for the two Kings: the King of France always gave him the right hand. When the visit was ended, the King of France conducted him back to the top of the stairs. They have given him the same guards that the late King had."—*Ellis's Orig. Letters*, vol. iv. p. 219, 2nd series.

CHAPTER II.

Death of James II. and William III.—Hopes of the Pretender from the Accession of Queen Anne.—Project of Louis XIV. for his Restoration. —Failure of the Expedition.—The Chevalier's Letter to his Sister.— Death of the Queen, and accession of George I.—Unpopularity of the Hanoverians.—Projected Rising of the Pretender's Friends.

AFTER the death of his father, the young Prince, (or, as he was henceforward commonly styled, the Chevalier de St. George,) fixed his court in the ancient Château of St. Germain-en-laye,* where he assumed the empty title of King, and surrounded himself with the usual but hollow pageantry of a court. He is described, at this period, as tall in stature; of a handsome and even noble expression of countenance; courteous in his manners, and of a kind, tractable, and amiable disposition. With these qualities,—had his fortunes and his education been different from what they were,—we have a right to presume that he would have figured in as respectable a light, and have proved as popular a monarch, as the majority of his predecessors. But, on the other hand, his natural abilities could scarcely be said to have kept pace with his exterior accomplishments; and,

* A century and a half before, the Château of St. Germain had afforded an asylum to the Chevalier's great-great-grandmother, the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, previous to her marriage to Francis the Second of France. The room in the Château in which James the Second died, is still shown.

moreover, when we take into consideration the unfortunate precepts which had been instilled into him by his father, and the bigotry which had conducted his education, we must certainly pronounce him to have been disqualified to struggle successfully for the recovery of a crown, or to act with any great credit the difficult part which he was called upon to play.

On the 8th of March, 1702, only six months after the death of King James, died his son-in-law and oppressor, William the Third. In the course of the year which had preceded these events, the English Legislature had passed the celebrated Act of Settlement, by the provisions of which the male line of the Stuarts were excluded from the succession, and the crown entailed on the Protestant heirs of Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, and granddaughter of James the First. This act was followed, after the death of James the Second, by another, which formally abjured and denounced the Chevalier de St. George, and to which William gave the royal assent only a few hours before he breathed his last.

If these important events had the effect of damping for a time the sanguine hopes of the Stuarts, those hopes were shortly afterwards revived by the accession of the Chevalier's half-sister, Queen Anne, who, (as in all human probability she would die without issue) it was confidently hoped would be induced, from feelings of natural affection, to alter the succession in favour of her brother. But whatever may have been the intentions of that Princess at the close of her life, it is certain that, in the early period of

her reign, she gave not the slightest hope of being prevailed upon to take such a step. Four years had already elapsed since the hopes of the Jacobites had been raised by the accession of Queen Anne, and as their accomplishment still appeared to be as far off as ever, Louis the Fourteenth at length yielded to the earnest solicitations of the exiled court, and entered into a serious project for restoring the Stuarts by force of arms. The project was the less displeasing to him, inasmuch as by sending an armament to England he would compel Queen Anne to withdraw some of her troops from the Netherlands in order to defend her own shores, and would thus arrest the victorious progress of the Duke of Marlborough's arms in the Low Countries.

Accordingly, in 1706, Lieutenant-Colonel Hooke, —an Englishman of good family, who had been a faithful follower of James the Second in exile,—was despatched by the French King with proper credentials to Scotland, with instructions to ascertain the disposition of the people of that country towards the Chevalier, and the means which they possessed of successfully resisting the arms of Queen Anne. As many as eighteen years had passed away since the expulsion of James, and with them had departed much of that bitter and indignant feeling which he had justly provoked by his bigotry and his errors. Among a people so essentially aristocratic in their prejudices and feelings as the English, there could not fail to be many who took a deep and chivalrous interest in the misfortunes of an ancient dynasty, who for so many centuries had given sovereigns either to England or

Scotland, and who were now about to be put aside for a race of German sovereigns, whose names were unassociated with their annals, and to whom there attached neither that charm nor veneration which antiquity alone can impress. Many there were who forgot the misconduct of James the Second in their compassion for his unoffending son; many who conscientiously believed that the Church was in danger under a Whig rule; and many who, though they had concurred in the act which had deposed King James, were yet averse to permit so extraordinary an innovation on the constitution of the country, as to sweep away entirely the legitimate line, in order to make room for a foreign intruder. Such, at this period, were the frequent, if not the general opinions of the landed gentry and of the High Church party in England; and to these we must add the powerful body of the Roman Catholics, as well as the original Jacobites, —the remains of the old Cavaliers,—who had continued true to their principles through every change.

Neither was it alone from these and similar well-wishers, that the exiled Prince looked for that aid and succour by means of which he hoped to regain possession of the throne of his ancestors. There were also many persons of high rank and influence, who, imagining that their services had been ill-requited, and looking forward to a counter revolution as the means of personal aggrandisement, had secretly tendered their services and allegiance to the Court of St. Germains. Among these discontented individuals were many of the leading statesmen of the day; and when we find such men as the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Marlbo-

rough, Lord Danby, Admiral Russell, and the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, holding a treasonable correspondence with the exiled Court, can we wonder that the Chevalier and his friends should have been tolerably confident of triumph and success?

Such were the pleasing prospects on which the Jacobites rested their hopes of success in England; while in Scotland the reviving attachment of the people to the representative of their ancient kings had taken a far wider and a deeper root. In the Highlands, the great majority of the chieftains were quite as eager to throw away the scabbard in the cause of the Stuarts, as they had formerly been in the days of Montrose or Dundee; while in the Lowlands, the disgust felt by the recent passing of the Act of Union had led to the secession of thousands from their allegiance to the Government. So obnoxious, indeed, was this celebrated measure to the Scottish people—so detrimental was it considered to their interests, and so dishonourable to them as a nation, that all distinctions of religion and party were laid aside, and not only the Presbyterians, but even the morose and bigoted Cameronians forgot the persecution to which they had been subjected under the rule of the Stuarts, and forgiving the Chevalier even the crime of being a Papist, expressed their readiness to receive him back as their King. "God," they said, "may convert him, or he may have Protestant children, but the Union can never be good."* At this period, Jacobitism was openly professed in the principal towns of Scotland, and his birthday celebrated with the

* Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 224.

same rejoicings as if he had been the reigning monarch.*

* The abhorrence of the Scotch people to the Act of Union is displayed in many of the Jacobite songs, which were enthusiastically sung at the period. The following has considerable merit: —

1.

It was in old times, when trees composed rhymes,
And flowers did with elegy flow;
It was in a field, that various did yield,
A rose and a thistle did grow.
In a sunshiny day, the rose chanced to say,
"Friend Thistle, I'll with you be plain;
"And if you would be but united with me,
"You would ne'er be a Thistle again."

2.

Says the Thistle,—"My spears shield mortals from fears,
"Whilst thou dost unguarded remain;
"And I do suppose, though I were a Rose,
"I'd wish to turn Thistle again."
"O my friend," says the Rose, "you falsely suppose;
"Bear witness, ye flowers of the plain!
"You would take so much pleasure, in beauty's vast treasure,
"You would ne'er be a Thistle again."

3.

The Thistle at length, preferring the Rose
To all the gay flowers of the plain;
Throws off all her points, herself she anoints,
And now are united the twain.
But one cold stormy day, while helpless she lay,
Nor longer could sorrow refrain,
She fetched a deep groan, with many Ohon!
"O were I a Thistle again!"

4.

"For then I did stand on yon heath-covered land,
"Admired by each nymph and each swain;
"And free as the air, I flourished there,
"The terror and pride of the plain.
"But now I'm the mock of Flora's fair flock,
"Nor dare I presume to complain;
"Then remember that I do ruefully cry,
"O were I a Thistle again!"

Under these circumstances; it may be readily conceived that the report made by Colonel Hooke, on his return to France, of the number and zeal of the Chevalier's friends in Scotland, was such as to induce the French King to lend his powerful aid to carry the threatened invasion into effect. Accordingly, early in 1707, a squadron was assembled at Dunkirk, under the command of the Comte de Forbin, on board of which were embarked between five and six thousand men, commanded by the Comte de Gassé, afterwards better known by the title of Maréchal de Matignon. Supported by these auxiliary troops, it was determined that the Chevalier de St. George, now in his twentieth year, should proceed in person to his ancient kingdom. He was furnished by the French King with magnificent services of gold and silver, with splendid liveries for his servants, with rich clothes for his life-guards, and all the glittering appurtenances of a court. At parting, Louis presented him with a sword, the hilt of which was studded with diamonds; at the same time making use of the same words which he had addressed to the Chevalier's father previous to the battle of La Hogue,—"Adieu! the best wish I can make you is, that I may never see your face again."

The result of the expedition, which sailed in the month of March, 1707, is well known. After repeated delays in quitting Dunkirk, the French squadron at length put to sea, and having proceeded several miles up the Frith of Forth, were engaged in making the signals which had been agreed upon to acquaint their friends of their approach, when the sound of cannon,

in the direction of the mouth of the Frith, gave notice that the English fleet, which had followed them from Dunkirk, were advancing to attack them. As the French squadron was far inferior to that of the English, the Comte de Forbin had no choice but to relinquish the enterprise and to put to sea. Accordingly, taking advantage of a land breeze, he bore away with all the sail his ships could carry, followed in close chase by the English Admiral, Sir George Byng. Night shortly afterwards set in, when De Forbin altered his course, and was soon out of reach of the English fleet; one of his ships only, "the Salisbury," a slow-sailing vessel, being boarded and taken.

The failure of the expedition, and the consequent disappointment of his fondest hopes, seem to have been deeply felt by the young Chevalier. Unwilling to return to France without having struck a single blow, it was no sooner intimated to him by De Forbin that the fleet had received orders to put to sea, than he resolutely demanded that he might be put with his attendants on board a smaller vessel; expressing his determination to land on the coast of Fifeshire, where the ancient castle of Wemyss (belonging to a devoted partizan of his family, the Earl of Fife,) would afford him, he said, a place of refuge and the means of assembling his devoted adherents. To this proposal De Forbin could by no means be induced to listen. "Sir," he said, "by the orders of my royal master, I am directed to take the same precautions for the safety of your august person, as for his Majesty's own. This must be my chief care. You are at present in safety, and I will never consent to your being exposed

in a ruinous château, in an open country, where a few hours might put you in the hands of your enemies. I am intrusted with your person, and am answerable for your safety with my head." The Chevalier then expressed a wish that the squadron might proceed northward, and that he might be landed at Inverness. This second request De Forbin seemed at first inclined to comply with; but the winds shortly afterwards veering round, and blowing directly in their teeth, he declared the project to be an impossible one, and gave orders for his ships to make the best of their way to Dunkirk.

By these untoward means, the Chevalier missed a more favourable opportunity of regaining the throne of his ancestors than was ever likely to occur again. We have already seen that the reaction which had taken place in England in favour of the exiled family, and the disaffection caused by the Union in Scotland, were circumstances greatly in favour of the success of his enterprise. Moreover, the war in Flanders had drained the country of troops. In England there were not above 3000 men under arms, and in Scotland scarcely more than 2000; while the castle of Edinburgh, in its present undefended state, must have surrendered at the first summons, as well as its stores, ammunition, and artillery, and the public money which was kept there for the purposes of the Government. Throughout the kingdom, but particularly in London, a consternation prevailed which would scarcely be credited. It was imagined that the Chevalier would never have ventured on a landing,

unless he had received promises of support from individuals of the first rank and influence; the nation in general believed that they were on the eve of a second, and perhaps a bloody revolution; and, among other evidences of the panic which prevailed at the time, it may be mentioned that such was the demand made on the Bank of England, that it was only by the most extraordinary efforts that the public credit was maintained.

Disappointed in his hopes of being permitted to draw his maiden sword in defence of his rights, the young Chevalier joined the French forces in Flanders, where he subsequently served with credit at the battles of Oudenarde and Malplaquet. On the latter occasion he charged twelve times with the household troops of the King of France, and in the last onset was wounded by a sword in the arm.

Hitherto, Louis the Fourteenth had conscientiously adhered to the promise he had made to King James on his death-bed, of affording protection to his orphan son; but the time had now arrived when, in consequence of the repeated defeats which his armies had experienced in the Low Countries, he found himself no longer in a condition to assist the son of his old friend. Doubtless, it was one of the bitterest moments in the life of that ambitious, and once all-powerful monarch, when, agreeably with the conditions which had been forced upon him by the treaty of Utrecht, he found himself compelled to intimate to the Chevalier that he could no longer afford him an asylum in his dominions. The latter accord-

ingly broke up his court at St. Germains, and fixed his quarters for a time in the dominions of the Duke of Lorraine.

Deprived of all present prospect of regaining the throne of his forefathers by force of arms, the Chevalier determined to make a last appeal to the better feelings of his half-sister, Queen Anne. Sick in mind and body, harassed by the constant dissensions which divided her ministers and personal friends, the unhappy Queen, had seen the grave close over the remains of her numerous progeny; and, in addition to the dislike which she was known to have conceived for the Electoral family, it was confidently believed that she had been overtaken by feelings of remorse for her filial disobedience; and, commiserating the condition of the Chevalier de St. George, the last male descendant of her ancient line, it was thought that she would gladly seize any safe opportunity of making amends to the son for the wrongs which their father had experienced at her hands.

Satisfied, apparently, of his sister's favourable intentions towards him, we find the Chevalier addressing to her an affecting and admirably written letter,* in which he implores her to bear in mind the ties of blood which united them, and to assist him to the succession after her death. "The natural affection," he writes, "which I bear you, and that which the King, our father, had for you, till his last breath; the consideration of our mutual interest, honour, and safety; and

* "The Pretender," says Macpherson, "was a better, more easy, and perhaps more elegant writer, than any one of his servants." — *Orig. Papers*, vol. ii. p. 225.

the duty I owe to God and my country, are the true motives that persuade me to write to you, and to do all that is possible for me to come to a perfect union with you. And you may be assured, Madam, that though I can never abandon, but with my life, my own just right, which you know is unalterably settled by the most fundamental laws of the land, yet I am most desirous rather to owe to you than to any living, the recovery of it. It is for you that a work so just and glorious is reserved. The voice of God and nature calls you to it; the promises you made to the King, our father, enjoin it; the preservation of our family—the preventing of unnatural wars require it; and the public good and welfare of our country recommend it to you, to rescue it from present and future evils; which must, to the latest posterity, involve the nation in blood and confusion till the succession be again settled in the right line. I am satisfied, Madam, that if you will be guided by your own inclinations, you will readily comply with so just and fair a proposal as to prefer your own brother, the last male of our name, to the Duke of Hanover, the remotest relation we have; whose friendship you have no reason to rely on, or be fond of; who will leave the Government to foreigners of another language, of another interest; and who, by the general naturalization, may bring over crowds of his countrymen to supply the defect of his right, and enslave the nation."*

The reasons which induce a belief that the Queen was secretly disposed to nominate the Chevalier as her successor, the author has elsewhere detailed at

* Macpherson's Orig. Papers, vol. ii. pp. 223, 224.

some length.* If such, however, were her intentions, her unlooked for and almost sudden demise prevented her carrying them into execution; and, moreover, such were the prudent and skilful precautions of the Duke of Shrewsbury, and the friends of the Hanoverian succession, that, on the death of the Queen, George the First succeeded to the throne in the same quiet and undisputed manner as if it had descended to him by hereditary right. Of the numerous persons, — including men of the highest rank and authority, — who had been previously engaged in intrigues in favour of the Chevalier, Bishop Atterbury was the only individual of exalted station who had the boldness to advocate his cause, and to propose a rising in his favour. Among others whom he urged to take this dangerous step, was the Lord Chancellor, Simon Lord Harcourt. According to the statement of the Chancellor himself, as related in Birch's Papers, Atterbury paid him a visit shortly after the Queen's death, and gave it as his solemn advice and opinion, that the Chevalier should be immediately proclaimed as King James the Third. Atterbury further added, that they had only to give him a guard, and he would put on his lawn sleeves and head the procession. "Never," he afterwards exclaimed to a friend, "was a better cause lost for want of spirit."

Although the tacit approbation shown by the people of England to the accession of George the First, had greatly damped the hopes of the Jacobites, they soon discovered fresh incentives to intrigue and exertion in the increasing unpopularity of the new King and

* Houses of Nassau and Hanover, pp. 270—276.

his ministerial advisers. The dislike with which the Whigs were regarded at this period by the landed gentry, and by the High Church party, — a dislike which was greatly increased by the undue and extraordinary favours shown them by the King, — the virulent animosity with which they persecuted the ministers of the late Queen, and the revival of the cry that the Church was in danger under their rule, had gradually fomented a spirit of discontent and disaffection, which continued daily to gain strength throughout the kingdom. Already Scotland was ripe for revolt, and in England the alarming riots which were constantly taking place, showed how disgusted the people were with their new rulers. In London, those who celebrated the King's birthday were insulted by the populace, while on the anniversary of the Chevalier's birth, the mob paraded the streets, breaking the windows of those who refused to illuminate, and burning William the Third in effigy at Smithfield, in the midst of shouts of "High Church, and the Duke of Ormond for ever!"* In Whitechapel Church, the populace violently assaulted the Rev. Joseph Acres for preaching a sermon in favour of the House of Hanover. In several of the largest towns of England, the popular cries were "Down with the Roundheads!" — "No Hanover!" — "No foreign Government!" At an election at Leicester, the mob spoke openly and contemptuously of the King as "the gentleman who keeps the

* One Bournois, a schoolmaster, who was committed to Newgate for shouting through the streets that King George had no right to the throne, was afterwards whipped through the City with such severity, that he died a few days afterwards in the greatest torture.

two Turks,"* and very nearly murdered the High Sheriff for refusing to return the Jacobite candidate. At Oxford, the gownsmen, uniting with the towns-people, made a furious attack on a party of noblemen and gentlemen who were met to celebrate the King's birth-day; for a time the town was in their hands,—windows were broken, the houses of the Whigs were pillaged, a Presbyterian meeting-house was pulled down, and a bonfire made of the pulpit and pews; the mob all the time shouting "No Hanover!"—"No Roundheads!"—"No Constitutionists!" The sprig of oak was again publicly displayed on the 29th of May, and the white rose worn on the Chevalier's birth-day. At Philips-Norton, Marlborough, War-

* These were two Turks, named Mahomet and Mustapha, who had been taken prisoners at the time when George the First, then Electoral Prince, was serving in the Imperial army. It is to one of them that Pope alludes in his "Essay on Women."

"From peer or bishop, 'tis no easy thing
To draw the man who loves his God or King;
Alas! I copy, or my draught would fail,
From *honest Mahomet* or plain Parson Hale."

They are also referred to, though with little honour, in "Geordie Whelp's Testament," a Jacobite lampoon of the period:—

Wi' my twa Turks I winna sinder,
For that wad my last turney hinder;
For baith can speer the nearest gate,
And lead me in, though it be late;
Where Oliver and Willie Buck
Sit o'er the lugs in smeeky muck;
Wi hips sae het, and beins sae bare,
They'll e'en be blythe when Geordie's there.

On the accession of the King to the throne of England, the two Turks received the appointments of Pages of the Back Stairs; and, as appears by a letter from Count Broglio to the King of France, obtained considerable influence over their royal master.

rington, Leeds, and other places, the Chevalier's birth-day was ushered in with ringing of bells, and his health publicly drunk as King James the Third. At Manchester, the mob triumphed for two whole days, destroying a Presbyterian meeting-house, and pulling down several houses belonging to the Whigs. In Lancashire it was found necessary to raise the militia; while at Newcastle-under-Line, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, Dudley, Stourbridge, and other places in Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Shropshire, the populace, encouraged by many of the magistrates and country gentlemen attached to the cause of the Stuarts, perpetrated the most daring acts of violence and outrage.

Neither was it in the general disaffection alone, which prevailed at the period, that the Chevalier rested his hopes of succeeding in the new attempt which he was determined to make for the recovery of the throne. The Tories, oppressed by the Whigs, whom they both hated and despised, and deprived of all prospect of obtaining any share in the administration, and in the patronage of the Crown, had begun earnestly to wish for a revolution, and responded heartily to the overtures which were made to them by the Jacobites. The impolitic severity of the Whigs had driven to despair and desperation more than one of the most influential and gifted noblemen in the realm. The Earl of Mar, disgusted by the contemptuous reception of his offers of allegiance by the new monarch, hurried indignantly to Scotland to use his powerful influence to incite his countrymen to revolt; Bolingbroke—the gifted and brilliant Bolingbroke—

"with the smart of a bill of attainder," to use his own words, "tingling in every vein," had flown to Commercy and accepted the Seals under the Chevalier; while the Duke of Ormond, one of the most powerful, and certainly the most popular nobleman in England, impeached of high treason, and with little expectation of having a fair trial, had also withdrawn himself from the kingdom, and entered the service of the Chevalier.

In addition to these inducements to make a fresh effort to regain the Crown, earnest entreaties and arguments were used by the friends of the Chevalier in Great Britain to induce him to place himself at their head. Colouring their statements according to their own eager feelings and sanguine hopes, they implored him not to lose a moment in coming over. The flame of enthusiasm, they said, had been raised in his favour, which, if once damped, might never be rekindled; they assured him that defeat was impossible; they insisted that the Tories would join him on his first landing, and that his presence alone was wanting to ensure a successful revolution.

Nevertheless, promising as was the aspect of the Chevalier's affairs at this juncture, it was evident to more dispassionate observers, that unless the rising in England and Scotland were simultaneous, and, moreover, unless they received powerful assistance from France, success was, to say the least, very far from being reduced to a certainty. Accordingly, the Chevalier again applied himself to the French King, who secretly supplied him with money, and even paid

the expenses of fitting out the vessel which was to transport the Chevalier to the shores of Britain. It is possible that a willingness to fulfil the promise which he had made to King James in his last moments, and an ambitious desire to give a sovereign to England, might have induced Louis the Fourteenth to extend still more valuable assistance to the son of his old friend. Unfortunately, however, at the very crisis when his aid and countenance were most required by the Chevalier, that haughty and magnificent monarch breathed his last. "If the late King," writes Lord Bolingbroke, "had lived six months longer, I verily believe there had been war again between England and France. This was the only point of time when these affairs had, to my apprehension, the least reasonable appearance even of possibility: all that preceded was wild and uncertain; all that followed was mad and desperate"

"When I arrived at Paris," adds Bolingbroke, "the King was already gone to Marly, where the indisposition which he had begun to feel at Versailles increased upon him. He was the best friend the Chevalier had; and when I engaged in this business, my principal dependence was upon his personal character; this failed me in a great degree—he was not in a condition to exert the same vigour as formerly. The ministers, who saw so great an event as his death to be probably at hand, — a certain minority, an uncertain regency, perhaps confusion at best, a new face of government, and a new system of affairs,—would not for their own sakes, as well as for the sake of the public, venture to engage far in any new measures.

All I had to negotiate — by myself first, and in conjunction with the Duke of Ormond soon afterwards,— languished with the King. My hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired."*

Although Lord Bolingbroke's famous letter to Sir William Wyndham was written after his quarrel with the Chevalier, and when his feelings towards his old master had become those of bitterness and indignation, yet the account which he gives in that letter of the state of the Prince's affairs, and of the persons who formed his court, must always be regarded as a valuable and interesting one. "The very first conversation I had with the Chevalier," he says, "answered in no degree my expectations. He talked to me like a man who expected every moment to set out for England or Scotland, but did not very well know for which. * * * * I found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what seemed good in his own eyes, — no subordination, no order, no concert. Persons concerned in the management of these affairs upon former occasions, have assured me this is always the case; it might be so in some degree, but I believe never so much as now. The Jacobites had wrought one another up to look upon the success of the present designs as infallible: every meeting-house which the populace demolished, every drunken riot which happened, served to confirm them in these sanguine expectations; and there was hardly one amongst them who would lose the air of contributing by his intrigues to the restoration, which he took for granted would be brought about without him in a very few weeks.

* Letter to Sir William Wyndham.

Care and hope sat on every busy Irish face. Those who could write and read, had letters to show; and those who had not, arrived to this pitch of erudition, —they had their secrets to whisper. Fanny Oglethorpe, whom you must have seen in England, kept her corner in it; and Olive Trant* was the great wheel of our machine."†

Disappointed in their hopes of being carried in triumph to the shores of England by a French fleet, and of being supported by French armies and foreign gold, the only question which was now discussed in the court of the Chevalier was, as to the practicability of bringing about a revolution by their own energies and resources, and those of their friends. By those who took a gloomier view of the aspect of the Chevalier's affairs, it was insisted that the favourable moment for action had been allowed to slip by;—that, by the indiscretion of some of their own friends, their plans and intentions had been whispered about at half the tea-tables and coffee-houses in Paris, and had consequently been reported to the English Government; — that, instead of surprising their enemies, which was the true policy, they had sounded the alarm in their ears;—that, whereas only a short time since, England had no fleet at sea, and only eight thousand troops in the whole island, but that now she was prepared and defended on all points;—and lastly, it was urged that Scotland could effect nothing, unless the English Tories and Jacobites rose at the same

* Mistress of the Regent Duke of Orleans. She afterwards married a brother of the Duc de Bouillon.

† Letter to Sir William Wyndham.

moment; and that, without foreign succours, it was unlikely that the latter would take so hazardous a step.

But if such were the arguments adduced by the few sensible men among the Chevalier's advisers, there were others which were far more likely to have their influence at his little court, composed, generally speaking, as it was, of men of confined understandings, whom a distance from the scene of action rendered but incompetent judges; and who, wearied with poverty and exile, were biassed far more by their own ardent wishes than by conviction, when they promised themselves success. By these persons it was argued, that so favourable a conjuncture would probably never occur again; — that the Chevalier's honour and his interests equally called upon him to make the attempt; — that his gallant partisans in Great Britain had already proceeded too far to retreat with safety;—and, lastly, they laid the greatest stress on the constant advices received from their friends at home, who, seemingly becoming more confident and energetic as their affairs wore a darker aspect, persisted in urging the Chevalier to take his immediate departure for England, in which case they unequivocally promised to place the crown on his head.

CHAPTER III.

The Earl of Mar and other Nobles swear Fealty to James the Third.—Publicly proclaimed King in Scotland.—Inactivity of the Earl of Mar.—Battle of Sheriffmuir.—Retreat of the Chevalier's Forces.—Arrests of his Adherents in England.—Defeat and Surrender of his Army at Preston.—Arrival of the Chevalier from France.—His Journey to Scoon.

WHILE the Chevalier and his council were still engaged in deliberating on the important question of peace and war, the tidings suddenly reached them that the irrevocable step had already been taken, and that the Earl of Mar was actually in arms in the Highlands at the head of the Jacobite clans.

Repulsed in the overtures of service and allegiance which he had made to George the First; believing that his enemies were resolved on his ruin, and thirsting for revenge, Mar had flown in disguise to the Highlands, where, on the pretext of a grand hunting-party, he invited the principal Jacobite noblemen in Scotland to meet him at his castle of Braemar, in Aberdeenshire. "The lords," says Sir Walter Scott, "attended at the head of their vassals, all, even Lowland guests, attired in the Highland garb, and the sport was carried on upon a scale of rude magnificence. A circuit of many miles was formed around the wild desolate forests and wildernesses, which are inhabited by the red-deer, and is called the *tinchel*. Upon a

signal given, the hunters who compose the tinchel begin to move inwards, closing the circle and driving the terrified deer before them, with whatever else the forest contains of wild animals, who cannot elude the surrounding sportsmen. Being in this manner concentrated and crowded together, they are driven down a defile, where the principal hunters lie in wait for them, and show their dexterity by marking out and shooting those bucks which are in season. As it required many men to form the *tinchel*, the attendance of vassals on these occasions was strictly insisted upon. Indeed, it was one of the feudal services required by the law; attendance on the superior at *hunting* being as regularly required as at *hosting*, —that is, joining his banner in war; or *watching* and *warding*,—garrisoning, namely,—his castle in times of danger."*

Among the noblemen and chieftains who swore fealty at Braemar to the exiled heir of the Stuarts, were the Marquis of Huntly, eldest son of the Duke of Gordon; the Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of the Duke of Atholl; the Earls of Nithsdale, Marischal, Traquair, Errol, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth, and Linlithgow; the Viscounts of Kilsythe, Kenmuir, Kingston, and Stormount; the Lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvy, and Nairne; and, among the chiefs of clans, the powerful Glengarry, and Campbell of Glendarule. Animated by an eloquent and elaborate speech addressed to them by the Earl of Mar, they all took the oath of allegiance to James the Third, and swore to be faithful to each

* Tales of a Grandfather, vol. iii. p. 32.

other. At the conclusion of their sport, they dispersed to their several estates for the purpose of assembling and arming their vassals.*

The celebrated "hunting-match of Braemar" took place about the 26th of August, and on the 6th of September the noblemen and chiefs of clans again assembled with their retainers at Aboyne. The same

* The hunting-match of Braemar is celebrated in one of the most spirited of the Jacobite songs of the period: —

The auld Stuarts back again,
The auld Stuarts back again,
Let howlet Whigs do what they can,
The auld Stuarts back again.
Wha cares for a' their creeshy duds,
And a' Kilmarnock sowen suds?
We'll wauk their hides, and fyle their fuds,
And bring the Stuarts back again.

There's Ayr and Irvine, wi' the rest,
And a' the cronies i' the west,
Lord! sic scawed and scabbit nest,
How they'll set up their crack again!
But wad they come, or dare they come,
Afore the bagpipe and the drum,
We'll either gar them a' sing dumb,
Or "auld Stuarts back again."

Give ear unto my loyal sang,
A' ye that ken the right frae wrang,
And a' that look and think it lang
For auld Stuarts back again.
Were ye wi' me to chase the rae,
Out-oure the hills and far away,
And saw the lords were there that day,
To bring the Stuarts back again.

Then what are a' their westland crews?
We'll gar the tailors back again:
Can they forestand the tartan trews,
And auld Stuarts back again?

day the ceremony of raising the standard was performed by the Earl of Mar, and the Chevalier was solemnly proclaimed, in the midst of the assembled clans, as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The standard, which was said to have been worked by the Countess of Mar, was of blue silk; having on one side the arms of Scotland wrought in gold, and on the other side the Scottish thistle, with the ancient motto, "*Nemo me impune lacessit.*" It had also two pendants of white ribbon, on one of which were the words, "For our wronged King and oppressed Country," and on the other, "For our Lives and Liberties." The standard had scarcely been erected, when the ornamental ball at the top of it fell off,—an incident which is said to have depressed for the moment the spirits of the superstitious Highlanders, who considered it as foreboding misfortune to the cause in which they had embarked.*

Within a few days after the raising of the standard, the Chevalier was solemnly proclaimed at many of the principal towns in Scotland;—at Aberdeen, by the Earl Marischal; at Inverness, by the Laird of Borlum,

* But when our standard was set up,
So fierce the wind did blaw, Willie,
The golden knop down from the top
Unto the ground did fa', Willie.
Then second-sighted Sandy said,
We'll do nae gude at a', Willie;
While pipers played frae right to left,
Fy, furich Whigs awa, Willie.

Up and waur them a', Willie,
Up and waur them a', Willie!
Up and sell your sour milk,
And dance, and ding them a', Willie.

Jacobite Song.

better known as Brigadier Mac Intosh; at Dunkeld, by the Marquis of Tullibardine; at Brechin, by the Earl of Panmuir; at Castle Gordon, by the Marquis of Huntly; at Montrose, by the Earl of Southesk; and at Dundee, by Graham of Duntroon. The flame of rebellion flew from fastness to fastness; the white cockade was adopted by clan after clan; and within an incredibly short space of time, Lord Mar found himself at the head of an army of nearly ten thousand men.

To enter into the various details of the insurrection of 1715, further than as they throw light on the fortunes and personal history of the Chevalier, would be foreign to the character of the present work. It is sufficient to observe, that an enterprise so spiritedly commenced was allowed to languish in consequence of the inefficiency of those who directed it. At the very outset of the insurrection, a well-concerted plan for seizing Edinburgh Castle—which, had it succeeded, would probably have given to the insurgents the at least temporary mastership of Scotland,—failed in consequence of the reckless imprudence of those selected to carry it into execution. The Earl of Mar, moreover, though he had displayed extraordinary spirit and address in raising the Highland Clans, was entirely deficient in military experience, and, indeed, was possessed of few of the qualities required to conduct an enterprise of so hazardous and peculiar a nature. Damping the spirit of the impetuous Highlanders by his ill-judged delays, and giving time for dissensions and jealousies to take root among their chieftains, he allowed the crisis for action to slip by

him, and instead of sweeping down on the Duke of Argyll and the royal forces, and driving them headlong over the Tweed, he allowed the Duke time to be joined by repeated reinforcements. In the meantime, he himself remained for weeks inactive at Perth, waiting for an event which was never destined to occur,—the general rising of the Jacobite party in England. "With far less force," says Sir Walter Scott, "than Mar had at his disposal, Montrose gained eight victories and overran Scotland; with fewer numbers of Highlanders, Dundee gained the battle of Killiecrankie; and with almost half the troops assembled at Perth, Charles Edward, in 1745, marched as far as Derby, and gained two victories over regular troops. But in 1715, by one of those misfortunes which dogged the House of Stuart since the days of Robert the Second, they wanted a man of military talent just at the time when they possessed an unusual quantity of military means."

It was not till the 10th of November, more than two months after the raising of the standard, that Mar marched his impatient army from Perth. Three days afterwards was fought the celebrated battle of Sheriffmuir or Dumblaine, in which both generals claimed the victory:* as Mar, however, retired from

* There's some say that we wan,
Some say that they wan,
Some say that nane wan at a', man;
But ae thing I'm sure,
That at Sheriffmuir,
A battle there was, which I saw, man;
And we ran, and they ran,
And they ran, and we ran,
And we ran, and they ran awa, man.

the neighbourhood of the scene of action, while Argyll, on the contrary, retained his position,—thus securing the passage of the Forth, and arresting the progress of the insurgents into the Lowlands,—the latter had certainly the greater reason to boast of success. The result, indeed, of the battle was in every respect unfavourable to the insurgents. The Highlanders, as was their invariable custom after an engagement, retired in great numbers to visit their friends, and to deposit with them any booty of which they might have possessed themselves; while more than one of the chieftains,—including Lords Huntly and Seaforth,—despairing of a rising among the English Jacobites, and disheartened by the dilatory conduct and evident incompetence of the Earl of Mar,—took their departure with their numerous retainers, on the pretext of being summoned to the protection of their own country. Thus the insurgent army, which on the morning of the battle had numbered ten thousand men, was reduced the following day to less than half that number. For Mar to have attempted to force a passage into the Lowlands at the head of five thousand men,—a measure which he had found himself unable to accomplish with an army double in number,—would have amounted to little less than an act of madness. He withdrew accordingly to his old quarters at Perth, where he continued to pursue the same

So there such a race was,
As ne'er in that place was,
And as little chase was at a', man;
Frae ither they ran,
Without touk o' drum,
They did not make use o' a paw, man.

inactive policy which had already proved so fatal to the interests of his master.

In the meantime, the Chevalier's affairs in England wore even a worse aspect than in Scotland. The Government, anticipating the designs of the English Jacobites, adopted prompt measures for frustrating them. The titular Duke of Powis was sent to the Tower; Lords Lansdown and Dupplin were taken into custody; a warrant was issued for apprehending the Earl of Jersey; Lieutenant-Colonel Paul, an officer of the Guards, was imprisoned in the Gatehouse for enlisting men for the service of the Chevalier; and, with the consent of the Lower House, warrants were issued for seizing the persons of Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, and other members of Parliament. In Cornwall, Sir Richard Vyvian, the most influential Jacobite in the county, was sent to London in custody of a messenger; and in the North of England, Mr. Howard, of Corby, and Mr. Curwen of Workington, two of the most powerful partisans of the Stuarts, were arrested and confined in Carlisle Castle.

In addition to these precautions, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended by the Parliament; liberal supplies were voted for the service of the Crown; six thousand auxiliary troops were sent for from Holland; and a reward of 100,000*l*., was offered for seizing the Chevalier, either dead or alive. A large body of troops was sent to overawe the University of Oxford, which was then the hot-bed of Jacobitism; and, about the same time, the Government was so fortunate as to discover a plan which had been concerted for sur-

prising the city of Bristol; the arms and artillery of the conspirators,—of which they had formed a depôt at Bath,—were seized by the officers of the Crown, and all the principal persons supposed to be engaged in the enterprise were taken into custody. In the West of England, the Government had been no less successful in defeating the plans of the Jacobites. At the outset of the insurrection, the Duke of Ormond, with about forty officers and men, had sailed from the coast of Normandy for Devonshire, where he confidently expected to find the landed gentry and their tenants in arms to support him. On his landing, however, he had the misfortune to find that he had been betrayed by his own agent, Maclean: not a single individual came to welcome him; many of his friends, he found, had been arrested, and the remainder were dispersed; consequently he had no choice but to abandon the enterprise, and to effect, if possible, a safe retreat to France.

It was only in the North of England, that the English Jacobites presented in any degree a formidable appearance. Proscribed by the Government, the young Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, the member for Northumberland, had taken the field with a body of only sixty horse,—"a handful of Northumberland fox-hunters," as they are styled by Sir Walter Scott;—and having been joined by Lord Widdrington, and by other gentlemen near the borders, proclaimed the Chevalier at Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick, From hence they proceeded northward to Rothbury, where they were met by the Earls of Carnwarth, Wintoun, and Nithsdale, and Viscount Kenmure, who

had recently proclaimed the Chevalier at Moffat, and who were now advancing southward in order to unite their forces (amounting to about two hundred horsemen) with those of Mr. Forster and Lord Derwentwater. Thus reinforced, the insurgents withdrew to Kelso, where they awaited the arrival of Brigadier Mac-Intosh. This officer had recently performed a gallant and hazardous service in forcing his way across the Forth in the midst of the royal cruizers, and now formed a junction with the English Jacobites at the head of fourteen hundred Highlanders.

After a lengthened discussion among the leaders of the party, it was at length decided that they should push forward into England by the western border, by which means they hoped to unite themselves with the powerful body of Jacobites in England, who it was confidently expected would rise in a body at the approach of their friends. But there existed an important obstacle to the adoption of this measure, in the superstitious aversion entertained by the Highlanders to marching out of their own country: if they were to be made a sacrifice, they said, they were determined that at least it should be on their own soil. At length, however, though with great difficulty, a large body of them were prevailed upon to advance; while the remainder, turning a deaf ear to the entreaties of their general, returned to their friends in the Highlands. The insurgents entered England on the 1st of November, and passed the night at the small town of Brampton, where they proclaimed the Chevalier with the usual ceremonies. Here also Mr. Forster opened

his commission as their general, which had been sent him by the Earl of Mar.

The force under Mr. Forster at this period consisted only of nine hundred Highlanders, and about six hundred Northumbrian and Dumfriesshire horsemen. The fate of this gallant, but ill-fated, body of men is well known. They advanced without interruption to Penrith, where the *posse comitatus* of Cumberland — headed by Lord Lonsdale and the Bishop of Carlisle, and amounting to ten or twelve thousand men, — were drawn out to arrest their further progress. These peaceful men, however, had conceived such terrible notions of the character of the insurgents, that they dispersed themselves in the utmost confusion at their approach. Mr. Forster, accordingly, pushed forward through Appleby and Kendal to Kirby Lonsdale, in all which places he proclaimed the Chevalier, and levied the public money. It was not till he entered Lancashire, that he received any important additions to his ranks. At Lancaster he released several of the partisans of the Stuarts who were confined in the county gaol, and from thence advanced to Preston, where a regiment of dragoons, commanded by Colonel Stanhope, and another of militia, withdrew at his approach. Here he was joined by several Roman Catholic gentlemen, who brought with them their servants and tenantry to the number of twelve hundred men.

In the mean time, General Wills had collected the royal forces which were quartered at Manchester and Wigan, and advanced to Preston to give the insurgents battle. For some reason, which it is impossible

to reconcile not only with military experience but with common sense, Forster had neglected to defend a most important post,—the bridge over the Ribble, by which road alone the enemy could have reached him,—and drawing his men into the centre of the town, contented himself with causing barricades to be formed in the principal streets. Expressing much astonishment at finding the bridge of the Ribble undefended, General Wills pushed forward, and attacked the insurgents at two different points of their temporary defences. The attack is described as a highly spirited one: but they were received with at least equal gallantry, and night shortly afterwards setting in, the royalists were compelled to withdraw, after having suffered considerable loss. The slight success, however, obtained by the insurgents, proved but of little service to them. Early the following morning General Carpenter, who had followed them by forced marches from the south of Scotland, made his appearance with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons: immediately the town was invested on all sides; and it became evident to the besieged, that further opposition was out of the question. The Highlanders, indeed, expressed their determination to sally out sword in hand, and cut their way through the King's troops: but with some difficulty they were prevailed upon to listen to the arguments of their leaders; and, accordingly, the whole of the insurgent force laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves at discretion.

Among the persons of note who fell into the hands of the Government, in consequence of the surrender

at Preston, were Lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnwath, Kenmure and Nairn, besides several members of the first families in the north of England. The noblemen and principal leaders of the insurrection were sent prisoners to London, and after having been led through the streets, pinioned as malefactors, were committed either to the Tower or to Newgate. The common men were imprisoned chiefly in the gaols of Liverpool or Manchester. Major Nairn, Captain Lockhart, Captain Shafto, and Ensign Erskine, were tried by court martial, and executed as deserters; and Lord Charles Murray was also sentenced to death for the same offence, but reprieved. It is remarkable, that the surrender at Preston took place on the same day on which was fought the doubtful battle of Sheriffmuir.

It was in this gloomy crisis of his affairs, — when there scarcely remained the faintest hope of another rising in England, and when Mar was remaining inactive at Perth, overawed by the superior army of Argyll, — that the last of the Stuarts landed, a proscribed adventurer, in the ancient kingdom of his forefathers. Having made several vain attempts to obtain a passage from St. Malo, and having lurked for several days in the dress of a mariner along the coast of Brittany, he at length made good his way to Dunkirk, where he embarked on board a small privateer, ostensibly laden with brandy, but well armed and manned. After a voyage of seven days, he landed at Peterhead on the 22nd of December, 1715, attended by the Marquis of Tynemouth, son of the Duke of Berwick, Lieutenant Cameron, and four

other persons; the whole party being disguised as naval officers.

The Chevalier passed the first night at Peterhead. The next day he came to Newburgh, a seat of the Earl Marischal; and on the following one, passing through Aberdeen, proceeded to Fetteresso, the principal seat of that nobleman. In the mean time, Lord Mar, having received intimation of the Chevalier's arrival, hastened with the Earl Marischal, and a train of about thirty gentlemen, to pay their respects to him at Fetteresso. James was in his bedchamber at the moment of their arrival: but he immediately dressed himself, and on entering the apartment they kissed his hand, and paid him the homage usually awarded to royalty. The Chevalier subsequently proceeded to name a privy council, by whose advice he issued six proclamations, in the name of King James the Eighth of Scotland and Third of England, in which he appointed a day of general thanksgiving for his safe arrival; commanded prayers to be offered up for him in the several churches; called upon all loyal men to join his standard; and named the 23rd of the following month for performing the ceremony of his coronation. He assumed to himself all the authority and attributes of a sovereign prince; conferring titles of nobility, knighthood, and ecclesiastical honours. Among others, he advanced Lord Mar to a dukedom, and knighted Bannerman, the Provost of Aberdeen. The episcopal clergy of Aberdeen presented him with an address; and shortly afterwards he received another address from the magistrates, town council, and citizens of that ancient burgh. It is necessary, however, to

observe, that the magistrates and council were of the appointment of the Earl of Mar.

The arrival of the Chevalier in Scotland had the effect, for a time, of raising the hopes and rekindling the enthusiasm of his zealous, but unreflecting, partisans. "At the first news of his landing," says one of his followers, "it is impossible to express the joy and vigour of our men. Now we hoped the day was come when we should live more like soldiers, and should be led on to face our enemies, and not be mouldering away into nothing, attending the idle determination of a disconcerted council."* But the feelings of the Chevalier himself seem to have been very different from those of elation, or even of hope. From the moment of his first interview with the Earl of Mar,—when he learned from the lips of that nobleman, that at the advance of the Duke of Argyll he must abandon Perth, and either disperse his forces or content himself with carrying on a fruitless and desultory warfare in the Highlands,—from that moment he seems to have relinquished the idea that his career would be one of triumph, or his recompense a crown. Though he endeavoured to assume a confident air in his intercourse with others, yet in the first speech which he addressed to his council, his words are evidently dictated rather by despondency than by hope. "He had come among them," he said, "merely that those who were backward in discharging their own duty, might find no pretext for their conduct in his own absence." "For myself," he added, "it is no new

* "True Account of the Proceedings at Perth," by a Rebel. London, 1716.

thing for me to be unfortunate: since my whole life, from my cradle, has been a constant series of misfortune; and I am prepared, if it so pleases God, to suffer the extent of the threats which my enemies throw out against me."

In consequence of a severe attack of the ague, the Chevalier was detained at Fetteresso till the 2nd of January. On that day he proceeded to Brechin, where he remained till the 4th, when he advanced to Glammis, where he passed the night;* and on the following morning made a kind of regal entry into Dundee, attended by a retinue of three hundred mounted gentlemen—the Earl of Mar riding on his right hand, and the Earl Marischal on his left. At the request of those about him, he remained about an hour in the market-place, during which time the populace thronged round him, and kissed his hand. This night he passed at the neighbouring residence of Stuart of Garntully. The next day, the 6th, he dined at Castle Lion, a seat of the Earl of Strathmore; and at night took up his quarters at Sir David Threipland's.

* On the 5th of January, we find Lord Mar writing from Glammis Castle:—"The King, without any compliment to him, and to do him nothing but justice, setting aside his being a prince, is really the finest gentleman I ever knew. He has a very good presence, and resembles Charles the Second a great deal. His presence, however, is not the best of him; he has fine parts, and despatches all his business himself with the greatest exactness. I never saw anybody write so finely. He is affable to a great degree, without losing the majesty he ought to have, and has the sweetest temper in the world. In a word, he is every way fitted to make us a happy people, were his subjects worthy of him." The letter, from which this extract is taken, was printed by order of Lord Mar, and circulated over Scotland, with a view of giving the people a favourable impression of the Chevalier.

On the 8th, the Chevalier arrived at Scoon, and his feelings may be more readily imagined than described, when he was conducted through the apartments of that ancient palace, which was associated with so many of the most interesting events in the annals of his native country, and which for centuries had been the residence of his forefathers, and the scene of their triumphs, their misfortunes, or their joys. The next day he made his public entry into Perth. He had previously expressed his strong curiosity to see "those little kings with their armies," as he styled the Highland chieftains and their mountain followers. To have indulged him, however, with the pageant of a review, would have had the disheartening effect of exposing the extreme weakness of the insurgent army, and consequently he was obliged to content himself with inspecting a few of the troops quartered in the town, which were drawn out for the purpose. He expressed himself much pleased at their romantic costume and gallant appearance, but when privately informed of the scantiness of their numbers, he was unable to conceal his disappointment and concern.

CHAPTER IV.

Advance of the Duke of Argyll.—Dejection of the Chevalier.—His Retreat to Montrose, and Flight to the Continent.—His Arrival in France, and Dismissal of Lord Bolingbroke.—Proceeds to Rome.—His Marriage with the Princess Sobieski.—Project of Charles XII. for his Restoration.—His Visit to Madrid.—Project of Alberoni for the Invasion of England.—Its Failure.—His Character towards the Close of Life.—His Death, and Funeral Obsequies.

THE Chevalier remained at Scoon till the 28th of January, when the unwelcome news reached the insurgent camp that the Duke of Argyll was on full march to give them battle. For Mar to have awaited the approach of his formidable adversary with the small and undisciplined force under his command, would very nearly have amounted to an act of madness. The gallant Highlanders, however, thought far differently. Their desire to be led to battle seems to have increased with the fearfulness of the odds which were against them; the chiefs are said to have embraced, drank to each other, and congratulated themselves that the long-wished-for day had at length arrived; while the men called upon the pipers of their clans to strike up the inspiriting tunes to which they were accustomed to march to battle, and displayed by their words and actions, how ardently they longed to be led against the foe.

The Chevalier, though certainly not deficient in

personal courage, was far from imbibing the enthusiasm of his Highland followers, while, in the breasts of any other men less loyal and less devoted, the impression left by his habits and personal demeanour must inevitably have damped the ardour felt for his cause. "His person," says one of his followers, "was tall and thin, seeming to incline to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in years. His countenance was pale, yet he seems to be sanguine in his constitution, and has something of a vivacity in his eye that perhaps would have been more visible if he had not been under dejected circumstances; which, it must be acknowledged, were sufficient to alter the complexion even of his soul as well as his body. His speech was grave, and not very clearly expressing his thoughts, nor overmuch to the purpose; but his words were few, and his behaviour and temper seemed always composed. What he was in his diversions, we know not: here was no room for such things. It was no time for mirth. Neither can I say I ever saw him smile. I must not conceal, that when we saw the man whom they called our King, we found ourselves not at all animated by his presence, and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said, the circumstances he found us in dejected him; I am sure the figure he made dejected

us; and had he sent us but 5000 men of good troops, and never himself come amongst us, we had done other things than we have now."* When the news of the Duke of Argyll's approach was first communicated to the Chevalier, he is said to have shed tears; observing that, instead of bringing him a crown, they had led him to his grave. When this incident was afterwards related to Prince Eugene,—"Weeping," he said, significantly, "is not the way to conquer kingdoms."

After a protracted and angry debate among the leaders of the insurgent army, it was at length determined to retreat to the Highlands,—a measure which gave them the option either of protracting the war, or, in the event of the worst happening, presented many and more favourable opportunities for dispersion and escape. This resolution was taken in council, on the 29th of January; and on the following day,—the anniversary of the execution of the Chevalier's grandfather, Charles the First,—the Highlanders, sullen, dejected, and indignant, took a melancholy leave of their friends in Perth, and crossing over the frozen waters of the Tay, defiled along the Carse of Gowrie to Dundee, and from thence continued their march to Montrose.

On his arrival at this sea-port town, the Chevalier was earnestly entreated by his secret advisers to seize the opportunity of there being a French vessel in the harbour, and to seek safety in flight. At first he indignantly refused to listen to the proposition; and when at length he gave a reluctant consent, Lord Mar

* "True Account of the Proceedings at Perth," by a Rebel.

assures us, in his narrative, that it was in consequence of its being clearly explained to him, that the only chance for his followers was to retreat among the mountains; and that his remaining among them served only to increase their danger, in consequence of the eagerness of their adversaries to seize his person.

Accordingly, every arrangement having been made for his flight, on the 4th of February the clans received orders to march at eight o'clock the same night for Aberdeen; the sentries were placed as usual before the door of the Chevalier's lodgings; and, in order still further to lull suspicion, his baggage was actually sent forward with the main body of the army as an earnest of his intention to accompany it. But before the hour arrived which had been named for the march, the Chevalier, attended only by one servant, slipped out of his lodgings; and having first called at the apartments of Lord Mar, who was to accompany him in his flight, took a bye-path to the water's edge, where a boat waited to carry him on board the small vessel which had been prepared for his reception. His companions, besides Lord Mar, were the Earl of Melford, Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-General Bulkley, and thirteen other persons of distinction, most of whom belonged to the Chevalier's household. The whole party having been safely embarked, in order to avoid the English cruizers, they stretched over to Norway; and after coasting along the shores of Germany and Holland, arrived, after a voyage of five days, at Gravelines, between Dunkirk and Calais.

With the flight of the Chevalier de St. George, terminated the insurrection of 1715. It was an ami-

able trait in his character, that his last act before his embarkation was to address a letter to the Duke of Argyll, in which he enclosed the remnant of the money which he had brought from France, desiring that it might be distributed among the poor inhabitants of some villages, which the necessities of war had compelled him to set fire to on the retreat from Perth.* He also left behind him a commission, appointing General Gordon Commander-in-Chief of the insurgent army, with full powers to make the best terms he could with the Government. On this officer devolved the painful task of conducting the gallant, but now disheartened Highlanders to Aberdeen. Here General Gordon produced a letter from the Chevalier, in which the latter intimated to his devoted followers, that "the disappointments he had met with, especially from abroad, had obliged him to leave their country; that he thanked them for their services, and desired them to advise with General Gordon, and consult their own security, either by keeping in a body, or separating, and encouraged them to expect to hear farther from him in a very short time."—"A general burst of grief and indignation," says Sir Walter Scott, "attended these communications. Many of the insurgents threw down their arms in despair, exclaiming, that they had been deserted and betrayed, and were now left without either king or general; the clans broke up into dif-

* The truth of this fact has usually been called in question by the Whig historians, but it has recently been substantiated beyond a doubt, by the publication of the Chevalier's interesting letter to the Duke of Argyll. See Chambers's "History of the Rebellions in Scotland, under the Viscount Dundee and the Earl of Mar," p. 312.

ferent bodies, and marched to the mountains, where they dispersed, each to his own hereditary glen." Advancing up Strathspey and Strathdon, they dispersed themselves in the wild districts of Badenoch and Lochaber; while the majority of the Lowland gentlemen, making a sally from the hills, and, crossing the county of Murray, reached Burg, and other sea-port villages, from whence they obtained passages in open boats to the Orkneys, and afterwards to France. The fate of such of the insurgents as fell into the hands of the Government, we shall elsewhere have occasion to record.

Immediately on his landing in France, the Chevalier repaired to his mother, Mary of Modena, at St. Germains. Almost his first impulse was to commit one of those unaccountable acts of imprudence which we must attribute either to some peculiar disorganisation of the mental faculties, or to the fatality which hung over his unfortunate race. This remark, it is scarcely necessary to observe, refers to the sudden dismissal of Lord Bolingbroke from his counsels;—a step so impolitic and so uncalled for, that even his partisan and half-brother, the Duke of Berwick, has left on record his astonishment at, and disapprobation of, the measure. "One must have lost one's reason," says the Duke, "if one did not see the enormous blunder made by King James in dismissing the only Englishman he had, able to manage his affairs; for, whatever may be said by some persons of more passion than judgment, it is admitted by all England, that there have been few greater ministers than Bolingbroke. I was in part a witness," adds the Duke,

"how Bolingbroke acted for King James whilst he managed his affairs, and I owe him the justice to say, that he left nothing undone of what he could do; he moved heaven and earth to obtain supplies, but was always put off by the Court of France; and though he saw through their pretexts and complained of them, yet there was no other power to which he could apply."

Bolingbroke himself, — notwithstanding there is always a touch of sarcasm, and indeed of caricature, in any picture which he draws of the affairs of the Chevalier, and notwithstanding the soreness which that extraordinary man must necessarily have felt at being so cavalierly dismissed from a court which he affected to despise,—has nevertheless left us an account of his removal from the Chevalier's counsels, the general truthfulness of which there is no reason to question. "The Chevalier," says Bolingbroke, "was not above six weeks in his expedition. On his return to St. Germains, the French Government wished him to repair to his old asylum with the Duke of Lorraine before he had time to refuse it. But nothing was meant by this but to get him out of France immediately. I found him in no disposition to make such haste, for he had a mind to stay in the neighbourhood of Paris, and wished to have a private meeting with the Regent. This was refused; and the Chevalier at length declared that he would instantly set out for Lorraine. His trunks were packed, his chaise was ordered to be ready at five that afternoon, and I sent word to Paris that he was gone. At our interview, he affected much cordiality towards me; and an Italian never embraced the man he was going to stab

with a greater show of affection and confidence. Instead of taking post for Lorraine, he went to the little house in the Bois de Boulogne, where his female ministers resided; and there he continued lurking for several days, pleasing himself with the air of mystery and business, whilst the only real business which he should have had at that time lay neglected. On Thursday following, the Duke of Ormond brought me a scrap of paper in the Chevalier's handwriting, and dated on the Tuesday, to make me believe it was written on the road, and sent back to his Grace. The kingly, heroic style of the paper was, that he had no further occasion for my services, accompanied by an order to deliver up all the papers in my office to Ormond, all which might have been contained in a moderate-sized letter-case."

The dismissal of Bolingbroke from the counsels of the Chevalier, which occurred, singularly enough, within twelve months after his expulsion from the cabinet of George the First, has been attributed to various causes, on which there is no necessity to dwell at length. Certainly, without some good and substantial reason, the Chevalier, notwithstanding his hereditary blindness and obstinacy, would never have consented to deprive himself of the services of that gifted and extraordinary man. Bolingbroke has accused the Chevalier of having blabbed his state secrets among the fair and frail *coterie* in "the little house," in the Bois de Boulogne. There is reason, however, to presume that the Chevalier might have turned the tables on Bolingbroke;—and, in fact, that it was to the same incautiousness of speech on the part of that minister,

(originating in an innate perception of the ridiculous which prompted him, in the society of the witty and the gay, to draw ludicrous contrasts between his once splendid fortunes and his present humble pretensions and those of his ruined master,)—that Bolingbroke owed his removal from the service of the Chevalier. For presuming such to have been the fact, we have at all events the authority of the Earl of Stair, the English Ambassador at Paris, whose sound sense and intimate knowledge of what was passing around him, renders him no indifferent authority on such an occasion. On the 2nd of March, 1716, he writes to the elder Horace Walpole;—"The true Jacobite project has been at last discovered, and they imagined nobody would tell it but Bolingbroke, who they have, as they now say, clearly discovered has all along betrayed them; and so poor Harry is turned out from being Secretary of State, and the Seals are given to Mar; and they use poor Harry most unmercifully, and call him knave and traitor, and God knows what. *I believe all poor Harry's fault was, that he could not play his part with a grave enough face; he could not help laughing, now and then, at such Kings and Queens.* He had a mistress here at Paris, and got drunk now and then, and he spent the money upon his mistress that he should have bought powder with, and neglected buying and sending the powder and the arms, and never went near the Queen; and, in one word, told Lord Stair all their designs, and was had out of England for that purpose. I would not have you laugh, Mr. Walpole, for all this is very serious. For the rest, they begin now to apprehend that their

King is unlucky, and that the westerly winds and Bolingbroke's treason have defeated the finest project that ever was laid."*

After lingering for a short time in the neighbourhood of the French capital, the Chevalier reluctantly withdrew to Avignon, from whence, after a brief residence, he proceeded to Rome, where he was received with the greatest kindness and consideration by the Pope. Allowing himself to be enslaved by his mistresses, whom he admitted to a knowledge of his most secret affairs, his habits, since his return from his Highland expedition, had unquestionably changed for the worse, while his general conduct was such as to excite the deep concern of his personal followers, and the alarm of all who were the well-wishers of his race. Uniting much of the licentiousness of his uncle, Charles the Second, with the bigotry of his unfortunate father, he surrendered himself up to the allurements of female beauty like the one, while he engrafted on his licentiousness that rigid and scrupulous adherence to religious forms and ceremonies, which was the characteristic of the other. This unfortunate revolution in the habits of the Chevalier is doubtless in a great degree to be attributed to the peculiar circumstances of his life, and to the repeated disappointments to which he had been exposed. Easy, indolent, and goodnatured, he allowed himself to be readily led astray by the friend or mistress of the moment; nor can we much wonder, however deeply we may lament the fact, that one so constituted both by nature and circumstances, should have been too fre-

* Walpole Papers.—Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 307.

quently tempted to smother reflection in the enticements of meritricious beauty, and in the adventitious excitement afforded by the grape.

By the true friends and well-wishers of the unfortunate Prince, it was confidently hoped that, by a marriage with a young and amiable Princess, he might be weaned from his present baneful habits and unworthy connections. After much persuasion, he was induced to listen to their entreaties, and accordingly, in 1718, a treaty was concluded for his marriage with the Princess Clementina Maria, daughter of Prince James Sobieski, eldest son of John, King of Poland, to whom he was married at Avignon by proxy on the 28th of May, 1719; the Chevalier being at this time absent on a visit to Madrid. The story of this young and interesting Princess will form the subject of a subsequent memoir. It is sufficient at present to observe, that notwithstanding her youth and personal beauty, and her many amiable qualities, the hopes which his friends had entertained that marriage would create a favourable reformation, were destined to be signally disappointed. The young Princess soon became disgusted with his renewed licentiousness and repeated infidelities; and after having borne him two sons,—the celebrated Charles Edward, and Henry, afterwards Cardinal York,—a separation took place between them, and the Princess retired to a convent with the same cheerfulness with which she had originally consented to become the bride of the man who was so unworthy of her.

From the period of the failure of his Highland expedition in 1715, the personal history of the Cheva-

lier, as far as regards his prospects of obtaining possession of the throne of his ancestors, is merely a tale of baffled hopes and continued disappointments. Two years after the suppression of the insurrection, Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, — inflamed with a deep feeling of revenge and indignation against George the First for having possessed himself of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden,—entered heartily into a project for restoring the House of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain, to which no less celebrated a monarch than Peter the Great of Russia is said to have been ready to lend his aid, and to which the Spanish Minister, Cardinal Alberoni, promised his warmest support. It was intended that a descent of ten thousand Swedish troops should have been effected in Scotland, of which Charles himself was to have taken the command. "It might be amusing," says Sir Walter Scott, "to consider the probable consequences which might have arisen from the iron-headed Swede placing himself at the head of an army of Highland enthusiasts, with courage as romantic as his own." But in the midst of these high hopes, death cut short the projects both of the Chevalier and of the iron king,—

> "His fall was destined to a barren strand,
> A petty fortress and an unknown hand;
> He left a name at which the world grew pale,
> To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

Charles fell before the frontier fortress of Frederickshall in 1718, and George the First was again left in the quiet possession of the throne of the Stuarts.

Notwithstanding, however, that the Chevalier was

thus deprived of the assistance of the northern powers of Europe, the ambitious and all-powerful Alberoni still entertained the project of restoring the House of Stuart to their ancient and legitimate rights. Accordingly, he invited the Chevalier to Madrid, but so vigilant were the agents of George the First, and so powerful was the English fleet in the Mediterranean, that it was only by a well-laid stratagem that the Chevalier was enabled to put his purpose into execution. Aware that his every step was watched, he pretended to set out to the northward, taking with him as his companions the Earls of Mar and Perth, and his customary suite. At a convenient opportunity, however, he separated himself from his companions, who, as he had anticipated, were subsequently arrested at Voghera, on the supposition that he was still amongst them. The Chevalier, in the mean time, exchanged dresses with his courier, and contrived to embark at the insignificant port of Nethano: from whence, after touching at Cagliari, he landed at Rosas in the month of March, 1719. The Spanish court received him with all the honours and rejoicings which are usually paid to a sovereign prince. He was acknowledged King of Great Britain; he was appointed a residence in the palace of Buen Retiro; his public entry into the Spanish capital was conducted with all due magnificence; and he received visits of state as a crowned head from Philip the Fifth and his Queen.

In the mean time, the Spanish government had prepared an armament at Cadiz, consisting of five men-of-war, and about twenty transports, on board of

which were embarked between five and six thousand soldiers, and arms sufficient for thirty thousand more. The Duke of Ormond was named Captain-General of the expedition, and most of the gallant gentlemen who had remained exiles since the insurrection of 1715, took part in the enterprise. The Highland chieftains were panting to embrace their brethren in Jacobitism and arms; old hopes and old feelings were revived with tenfold ardour, and among other beautiful strains which have immortalized the romantic story of the Stuarts, they sang, as if they hailed it as a prophecy, the fine and inspiriting ballad which had been composed when the Chevalier was compelled to turn his back on his gallant followers in 1715.

"My bonny moor-hen, my bonny moor-hen,
Up in the grey hill, and doun in the glen;
When ye gang butt the house, or when ye gang ben,
Ay drink a health to my bonny moor-hen.

My bonny moor-hen's gane over the main,
And it will be summer or she come again;
But when she comes back again, some folk will ken:
Joy be wi' thee, my bonny moor-hen!

My bonny moor-hen has feathers anew,
She 's a' fine colours, but none o' them blue;
She 's red, and she 's white, and she 's green, and she 's grey;*
My bonny moor-hen, come hither away.

Come up by Glenduich, and doun by Glendee;
And round by Kinclaven, and hither to me;
For Ronald and Donald are out on the fen,
To break the wing of my bonny moor-hen."

In the Spanish expedition of 1718, the same fate which had attended so many previous enterprises on

* These colours evidently allude to those in the tartan in the royal clan of Stuart. The blue was the party colour of the Whigs.

their behalf, impended over the unfortunate House of Stuart. Off Finisterre the Spanish fleet encountered a terrific tempest, which lasted forty-eight hours. The elements proved too mighty even for the genius of Alberoni; and, unrigged and unmasted, the majority of the armament, which had been sent to destroy a powerful monarchy, were compelled to return to their native ports. Only two frigates, having on board the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl Marischal, and the Earl of Seaforth, with three hundred men, some arms, ammunition, and money, reached the appointed rendezvous in the Island of Lewis. The result of the expedition may be briefly related. Lord Seaforth raised a few hundred of his own clan, the Mackenzies; but a resolution had been universally taken not to move in Scotland till England was fairly engaged; and accordingly, including the Spanish auxiliaries, the force under Lord Seaforth never on any occasion amounted to more than two thousand men. Passing over from Lewis to Kintail, Lord Seaforth assembled his forces in that district; but before he could muster any formidable reinforcement, General Wightman marched against him with a body of regular troops from Inverness, strengthened by the Monroes, Rosses, and other loyal clans in the vicinity. On approaching the insurgent force, they found them masters of the pass of Strachells, near the great valley of Glenshiel. An indecisive and desultory action took place, in which,—as far, at least, as regards the number of killed and wounded,—the insurgents had unquestionably the advantage. Avoiding an encounter with their assailants on the open ground, they con-

tinued to fire on them from the rocks till night set in, when it was found that they had lost only one man, while the government troops had twenty killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded. The success, however, obtained by the insurgents was so trifling, and the advantage to be obtained by their continuing in arms appeared to be so extremely problematical, that, before morning, it was decided that they should disperse and return to their several homes. Such was the result of the mountain skirmish, which has been dignified with the name of the battle of Glenshiel. The next day, the three hundred Spaniards surrendered themselves at discretion, and were carried prisoners to Edinburgh. "The great straits of the officers," we are told, "appeared even in their looks, though their Spanish pride would not allow them to complain."* At Edinburgh, however, they met with the greatest kindness, the Jacobites vying with each other in showing civility to the officers, and supplying them with money. The Marquis of Tullibardine, and the Earl Marischal, as well as the Earl of Seaforth, who had been badly wounded at Glenshiel, contrived to effect their escape to the Western Isles, where they remained concealed till the ardour of pursuit had slackened, when they embarked in disguise for the coast of Spain.

Notwithstanding the failure of so many enterprises in his behalf, the Chevalier and his partisans continued for a considerable period to entertain the most visionary schemes for his restoration. "With whatever

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 23.

court," says Sir Walter Scott, "Great Britain happened to have a quarrel, thither came the unfortunate heir of the House of Stuart, to show his miseries and to boast his pretensions." But repeated disappointment will chill even the most sanguine hopes; his natural indolence, moreover, increased as he advanced in life: and it was not till many years had elapsed, (not, indeed, till the adventurous character, the high spirit, and gallant bearing of his eldest son, Charles Edward, again revived the fondest hopes of the Jacobites,) that the Chevalier could once more be induced to take an interest in any project that might be proposed to him for his restoration.

Gray, the poet, in a letter from Florence dated the 16th of July, 1740, has left us a brief but interesting account of the Chevalier and his sons. "The Pretender," he writes, "whom you desire an account of, I have had frequent opportunities of seeing at church, at the Corso, and other places; but more particularly, and that for a whole night, at a great ball given by Count Patrizzii to the Prince and Princess Craon, at which he and his two sons were present. They are good, fine boys, especially the younger, who has the more spirit of the two; and both danced incessantly all night long. For him, he is a thin, ill-made man, extremely tall and awkward, of a most unpromising countenance, a good deal resembling King James the Second, and has extremely the air and look of an idiot, particularly when he laughs or prays; the first he does not do often, the latter continually. He lives privately enough with his little Court about him, consisting of Lord Dunbar, who manages everything, and

two or three of the Preston lords, who would be very glad to make their peace at home."*

The Chevalier took no part in the expedition of 1745, with the exception of furnishing a large sum of money which he had saved from his private fortune. Accustomed to a series of disappointments from his youth, he seems to have shared but in a slight degree the sanguine expectations of those who surrounded him, and to have taken a far deeper interest in the personal safety of his son than in the result of the enterprise. "By the aid of God," said the young Chevalier to his father, on the eve of his departure for Scotland, "I trust I shall soon be able to lay three crowns at your feet." The reply of James was an affecting one: "Be careful," he said, "my dear boy, for I would not lose you for all the crowns in the world."

During the last years of his life, the Chevalier resided almost entirely at Rome. Horace Walpole describing him in 1752, observes:—"The Chevalier de St. George is tall, meagre, and melancholy in his aspect; enthusiasm and disappointment have stamped a solemnity on his person, which rather creates pity than respect. He seems the phantom which good-nature, divested of reflection, conjures up, when we think of the misfortunes, without the demerits, of Charles the First. Without the particular features of any Stuart, the Chevalier has the strong lines and fatality of air peculiar to them all. At Rome," adds Walpole, "where to be a good Roman Catholic, it is by no means necessary to be very religious, they have little esteem for him; but it was his ill-treat-

* Works, vol. ii. pp. 89, 90.

ment of the Princess Sobieski, his wife, that originally disgusted the Papal Court. She who, to zeal for Popery, had united all its policy,—who was lively, insinuating, agreeable, and enterprising,—was fervently supported by that Court, when she could no longer endure the mortifications that were offered to her by Hay and his wife, the titular Countess of Inverness, to whom the Chevalier had entirely resigned himself. The Pretender retired to Bologna, but was obliged to sacrifice his favourites, before he could re-establish himself at Rome. The most apparent merit of the Chevalier's Court is, the great regularity of his finances, and the economy of his exchequer. His income before the Rebellion, was 25,000*l.* a-year, arising chiefly from pensions from the Pope and from Spain; from contributions from England, and some irregular donations from other courts: yet his payments were not only most exact, but he had saved a large sum of money, which was squandered on the unfortunate attempt in Scotland. Besides the loss of a crown to which he thought he had a just title; besides a series of disappointments from his birth; besides that mortifying rotation of friends, to which his situation has constantly exposed him, he has, in the latter part of his life, seen his own little Court and his parental affections torn to pieces and tortured by the seeds of faction, sown by that masterhand of sedition—the famous Bolingbroke; who insinuated into their counsels a project for the Chevalier's resigning his pretensions to his eldest son, as more likely to conciliate the affections of the English to his family."

The last notice which we have of the Chevalier of any interest, is from the pen of Keysler, in 1756, which presents but a melancholy picture of him in his latter days. "The figure," he says, "made by the Pretender, is in every way mean and unbecoming. The Pope has issued an order that all his subjects should style him King of England; but the Italians make a jest of this, for they term him "The local King," or "King *here;*" while the real possessor is styled, "The King *there*," that is, in England. He has an annual income of 12,000 scudi, or crowns, from the Pope, and though he may receive as much more from his adherents in England, it is far from enabling him to keep up the state of a sovereign prince. He is very fond of seeing his image struck on medals; and if kingdoms were to be obtained by tears, which he shed plentifully at the miscarriage of his attempts in Scotland, he would have found the medallists work enough. He generally appears abroad with three coaches, and his household consists of about forty persons. He lately assumed some authority at the opera by calling '*Encore!*' when a song that pleased him was performed; but it was not till after a long pause that his order was obeyed. He never before affected the least power. At his coming into an assembly, no English Protestant rises up, and even the Roman Catholics pay him the compliment in a very superficial manner. His pusillanimity, and the licentiousness of his amours, have lessened him in everybody's esteem. Mr. S., who affects to be an antiquary, narrowly watches him and his adherents, being retained for that purpose by the British Minis-

try. A few years since, Cardinal Alberoni, to save the Pretender's charges, proposed that the palace Alla Laughara should be assigned for his residence. This house lies in the suburbs, and in a private place, and has a large garden with a passage to the city walls, so that the Pretender's friends might have visited him with more secrecy, and he himself be absent without its being known in Rome. This change was objected to on the part of England, by Mr. S., and did not take place; but a new wing was built to the Pretender's old mansion, he having represented it as too small for him."

For several years before his death, the Chevalier de St. George lived in great retirement, and, indeed, during the five last years of his life, his infirmities confined him altogether to his bed-chamber. It is remarkable, that his existence should have been extended over the reigns of six sovereigns,—who successively filled the throne of Great Britain,—five of whom he had been taught to regard as the usurpers of his rights. His death took place at Rome, on the 12th of January, 1766, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

The funeral obsèquies of the Chevalier were performed with regal honours. After lying in state for five days, his body was carried to the church of the Apostles, dressed in royal robes, with the crown of England upon his head, and the sceptre in his hand, and upon his breast the arms of Great Britain, wrought in jewels and gold. The procession was attended by the members of the Pope's household, as well as by the members of almost every order and fraternity, religi-

ous as well as secular, in Rome; a thousand wax-tapers were borne by as many attendants, and twenty Cardinals supported the pall. On reaching the church, the body was placed on a magnificent bed of state, the drapery of which consisted of purple-silk, with stripes of gold lace. Above him was a throne suspended from the ceiling, on the top of which were the figures of four angels holding a crown and sceptre, and at each corner the figure of Death looking down. Over the bed was the inscription, "JACOBUS, MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ REX, ANNO MDCCLXVI." with a number of medallions representing the several orders of chivalry in Great Britain, and the three crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland; to which were added the royal insignia,—the purple robe lined with ermine, the velvet tunic ornamented with gold, the globe, the crown, the sceptre, and the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. Cardinal Alberoni officiated in his pontificalia at the *requiem*, which was sung by the choir from the Apostolic palace; while the church was illuminated by a number of chandeliers, besides wax-tapers held by skeletons. The body remained in this state for three days, when it was removed to, and interred with similar solemnity and magnificence in the great church of St. Peter's.

THE PRINCESS CLEMENTINA MARIA SOBIESKI.

Birth and early Character of the Princess.—Selected for the Wife of the Pretender. — Wogan's Account of his Romantic Adventures to carry the Proposal to her.—Arrested, and confined in a Convent at Innspruck.—Stratagem for her Release.—Arrival at Bologna.—Her Reception by the Chevalier.—Medal struck in Commemoration of her Escape.—Disagreement with her Husband, and Separation.—Keysler's Character of her in her Fifty-fifth Year.—Her Death.

CLEMENTINA, daughter of Prince James Sobieski of Poland, and grand-daughter to King John Sobieski, who performed so valuable a service to Europe by defeating the Turks before the walls of Vienna, was born on the 17th of July, 1702; and consequently, when, in 1718, the Chevalier de St. George became a suitor for her hand, she was only in her seventeenth year. She was beautiful in her person; and by nature was amiable, enterprising, and high-spirited. With the romance which was natural to her years and her sex, she seems to have early conceived a deep interest in the story of the ill-fated Stuarts, and, as pity is said to be akin to love, it was probably to this circumstance that we are to trace her evident predisposition to become the bride of the last heir of that unfortunate house. "The young Princess," says Wogan, who conducted the secret treaty for her marriage, "when a child, affected to be called by her play-fel-

lows Queen of England; and the ladies of the Court, seeing her extremely delighted with the title, still continued to call her so."*

On the part of James, there seems at first to have been but little of romance in the overtures which he was induced to make for the hand of this young and interesting Princess. It was not long after his return from his futile expedition to Scotland in 1715, that his friends—anxious to wean him from that pernicious career of libertinism in which he had latterly indulged—prevailed upon him to reflect on the advantages which would accrue to his health and his cause from his entering the married state; and, among other less eligible alliances, named to him the Princess Clementina of Poland. Her fortune was accounted to be one of the largest in Europe, and as she was represented to him in glowing colours, as beautiful in her person, and amiable in her disposition, the Chevalier, from yielding at first a cold consent to the solicitations of his friends, seems at length to have been impressed with an ardent desire to obtain her hand.

At this period, there was no spot in Europe where the Jacobites were likely to carry on their intrigues, that the English Government did not employ their agents and their gold to counteract them. It was their great object that the male hereditary line of the Stuarts should become extinct in the person of the Chevalier, and consequently they exercised their utmost influence and unceasing vigilance in prevent-

* "Narrative of the Seizure, Escape, and Marriage of the Princess Clementina Sobieski, as it was particularly set down by Mr. Charles Wogan (formerly one of the Preston prisoners), who was a chief manager in that whole affair." London, 1722.

ing the accomplishment of an object which, on the other hand, the Jacobites had so warmly at heart. Under these circumstances, the Chevalier and his friends were compelled to have recourse to secret manœuvres to effect their object; and eventually Charles Wogan, an Irish gentleman of tact and ability* who had fought at Preston, was selected to conduct the delicate mission.

Wogan has himself left us an interesting account of his romantic adventure. In order to avoid suspicion, he adopted a circuitous route, paying leisurely visits at the small German courts which he passed by in his way to Silesia, where the Princess was then residing with her father. To the Princess herself, Wogan first communicated the delicate secret with which he was entrusted. Alluding to her early and romantic fancy of being styled Queen of England by her young play-fellows, — "Hitherto," he said, "you have enjoyed only an imaginary title, but I am now come to offer you a real one." The Princess, young and romantic, entered enthusiastically into the project; while her parents, dazzled with the prospect of their daughter ultimately ascending the throne of Great Britain, readily gave their consent to a union which was so consonant with their ambitious views. Accordingly, all the preliminaries having been settled, it was decided that the Princess should be conducted at once to her future husband at Bologna, and that every possible precaution should be taken to ensure

* Wogan was taken prisoner at Preston and committed to Newgate, from whence he contrived to effect his escape. He subsequently entered the service of the King of Spain, and became a valued correspondent of Swift.

secrecy, in order to deceive the vigilance of the agents of the English Government.

Unfortunately, however, the Princess and her attendants were so long in making the necessary preparations for the journey and subsequent nuptials, that the project was allowed to transpire, and speedily came to the knowledge of the English minister at Vienna. As it was of the first importance to the Emperor, at this period, to keep on good terms with the English nation, in consequence of the support which their fleet afforded him in advancing his pretensions to Sicily, he readily listened to the representations and remonstrances which were made to him; accordingly, as the Princess and her mother were passing through Innspruck, in the Tyrol, they were suddenly arrested, and confined in a convent in that town. "The memory," says Lord Mahon, "of John Sobieski, the heroic deliverer of Vienna, might have claimed more gratitude from the son of the Prince whom he had saved."

The Chevalier was at Bologna when he heard the news of the arrest of his intended bride. Satisfied that no efforts or remonstrances on his own part could obtain the liberation of the Princess, he readily listened to a proposal made to him by Wogan, of procuring the release of the Princess by stratagem. Wogan, in the first instance, obtained a passport from the Austrian ambassador, in the name of Count Cernes and family, whom he represented to be on their return to Loretto from the Low Countries. He then returned to Innspruck under a false name, and with little difficulty contrived to enlist in his

service a brother Irishman, one Major Misset, who belonged to a regiment quartered in the neighbourhood. The whole plot was ably planned and successfully executed. Mrs. Misset, though far advanced in pregnancy, and of a timid disposition, was prevailed upon to become the companion of the young Princess during the long and difficult journey which was awaiting her; Major Misset and his wife were to personate the supposed Count and Countess Cernes; Wogan was to pass for the brother of the Count, and the Princess Clementina for his sister. On the night appointed for the execution of the project, relays of six horses each were stationed in readiness at the four first stages from Innspruck, and lastly,—which was of primary importance,—one Chateaudeau, gentleman-usher to the Princess Sobieski, on some pretext obtained the permission of the porter of the convent to bring a female within its walls, and to conduct her out at whatever hour he pleased. With this female—who was a servant of Mrs. Misset, a smart and intelligent girl—it was proposed that the Princess should exchange clothes, and, under cover of night, and with Chateaudeau for her escort, there was no reason to apprehend that the latter would be questioned in her egress from the cloister.

As soon as the project was ripe for execution, the means which were proposed for procuring her freedom were fully explained to the young Princess, who appears to have embarked in the intrigue with all those feelings of joyful excitement so natural to her

age. On the appointed night, she disguised herself in the hood and cloak of the young female who was to play her part. She then took an affectionate leave of her mother, and, after shedding some natural tears, was led by Chateaudeau to the gate of the convent, where he took leave of her with a voice sufficiently sonorous to apprise Wogan, who was lurking in the neighbourhood, that his charge was at hand.

Thus, on a cold and dark night,—which, if it served to secure her safe retreat, was rendered sufficiently miserable by a violent storm of snow and hail,—the young and delicate Princess resigned herself into the hands of strangers, with none of whom, with the exception of Wogan, had she ever had the slightest acquaintance. The story of her long and arduous journey from Innspruck to Bologna, is dwelt upon at some length in the scarce tracts of the period. It presents, however, a mere dry detail of fatigue, fright, and privation, which the Princess appears to have borne with a patience and courage beyond her years. At length, after having been exposed to wretched weather and worse roads, and with the prospect of being pursued and overtaken constantly present to their imaginations, the fugitives had the satisfaction of finding themselves safe in the Venetian territories; from whence, after a further journey of great fatigue, not unaccompanied with danger, they arrived on the 2nd of May, 1719, at Bologna. James was at this period absent, on a secret expedition to Madrid. The marriage, accordingly, was performed by proxy in his

absence, but was completed with all due solemnity immediately on his return. So eager is said to have been the young Princess to behold her future husband, that it was only after much persuasion that she was prevented from joining him at Madrid.

In commemoration of the escape of his bride, the Chevalier caused a medal to be struck, on which, on one side, was the portrait of the Princess, with the words, Clementina, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; and on the other, a female figure in a triumphal car, drawn by horses at full speed, with the inscription,—"*Fortunam, causamque sequor;*" and beneath, "*Deceptis custodibus*, 1719." During the first stage of their union, the Chevalier seems to have been charmed with the personal beauty and good sense of his young wife; and among other proofs of the admiration with which he regarded her, he speaks of her, in a letter to General Dillon at Paris, as combining the loveliness of seventeen with the sound sense and discrimination of thirty. He soon, however, relapsed into his old habits, and mutual disagreements and recriminations were the natural consequence; the Princess complained of her husband's infidelity, and the Chevalier retorted, by accusing her of attempting to establish an undue influence over his counsels, and creating dissensions in his domestic establishment. "The account was generally credited," says Lockhart of Carnwath, "that the Queen was jealous of an amour 'twixt the King and Lady Inverness; who, with her husband, (who was the King's favourite and premier minister,) treated the Queen so

insolently, that she could not bear it, and was obliged to retire."*

Enterprising and fond of power, the Queen, it appears, sought to establish a party for herself in the little Court of her husband, by which means she trusted to succeed to that influence over his thoughts and actions which was at present exercised by her dreaded and detested rivals, Lord and Lady Inverness. Failing in this object, instead of realizing those dreams of happiness and power which she had pictured to herself in her own country, she had the mortification of finding herself, on her first arrival at Bologna, an object of dislike and suspicion to a circle of intriguing courtiers, and latterly a mere cypher in the small Court of which her high spirit, her insinuating manners, and many agreeable qualities, certainly entitled her to be the mistress.

In consequence of the misery which was thus entailed upon her, the Princess, about the end of the year 1725, withdrew herself from her husband's roof, and took up her temporary abode in a convent. To her sister she writes immediately afterwards,—"Mr. Hay† and his lady are the cause that I am retired into a convent. I received your letter in their behalf, and returned you an answer, only to do you a pleasure, and to oblige the King; but it all has been to no purpose, for, instead of making them my friends, all the civilities I have shown them have only served to render them the more insolent. Their unworthy

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 220.

† Lord Inverness.

treatment of me has, in short, reduced me to such an extremity, and I am in such a cruel situation, that I had rather suffer death than live in the King's palace with persons that have no religion, honour, nor conscience, and who, not content with having been the authors of so fatal a separation between the King and me, are continually teazing him every day to part with his best friends and his most faithful subjects. This at length determined me to retire into a convent, there to spend the rest of my days in lamenting my misfortunes, after having been fretted, for six years together, by the most mortifying indignities and affronts that can be imagined. I desire you to make my compliments to the Bishop of Ambrun, and to tell him from me, that as I take him to be my friend, I doubt not but he will do me justice on this occasion. He is very sensible that they were strong and pressing reasons that determined me to take so strong a resolution, and he has been a witness of the retired life I always led; and you, my dear sister, ought to have the same charity for me. But whatever happens, I assure you that I should rather choose to be silent under censure, than to offer the least thing which may prejudice either the person or affairs of the King, for whom I always had, notwithstanding my unhappy situation, and for whom I shall retain, as long as I live, a sincere and respectful affection."*

For some time, James resisted every effort which was made for effecting a reconciliation with his Princess. "I shall always," he writes, "be ready to for-

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 265.

give the Queen, whenever she will live with me as a wife ought to do; yet I would not purchase even my restoration at the price of being her slave." Under ordinary circumstances, he would probably have displayed but little concern at their separation. The remonstrances, however, which he received from his friends in Great Britain, who foresaw the prejudicial consequences which must accrue to his cause by the publication of his domestic differences, and lastly, the efforts of the Pope, who threatened him with the discontinuance of the pension which he enjoyed from the Papal See, had at length the effect of inducing him to listen to reason, and with some difficulty a cold and formal reconciliation was effected between the Princess and himself.

From this period there is little of importance or interest in the life of the unfortunate Clementina. A zeal for popery seems to have been the only quality which she shared in common with her husband. Disappointed in her reasonable expectations of enjoying domestic happiness, and a constant prey to ill-health, and to the bitterest feelings of jealousy and disappointment, this once fascinating, beautiful, and high-spirited woman resigned herself to a life of seclusion, varied only by a devout practice of the forms and ceremonies of the Romish Church. Keysler observes of her when she was in her fifty-fifth year,—"The Princess is too pale and thin to be thought handsome; her frequent misfortunes have brought her very low, so that she seldom stirs abroad, unless to visit a convent. She allows her servants no gold or sil-

ver lace on their liveries: this proceeds from what is called her piety; but it is partly owing to her ill-health, and partly to the jealousy, inconstancy, and other ill qualities of her husband." The death of the Princess Clementina, took place on the 18th of January, 7165, in the sixty-fourth year of her age.*

* An account of the ceremony of her interment, with a memoir of her life prefixed to it, was published at Rome the year following her death, entitled, "Parentalia Mariæ Clementinæ, Magn. Britan. Franc. et Hibern. Regin., jussu Clementis XII. Pont. Max." Folio.

JAMES RADCLIFFE, EARL OF DERWENTWATER.

His Birth and early Connexions.—How related to the Stuarts.—Joins the Insurgents.—His Arrest, Trial, and Defence.—His Sentence and Death.—Question as to his Place of Burial determined.

THIS amiable and unfortunate young nobleman, who deserved a better fate than to fall by the hands of the common executioner, was born on the 28th of June, 1691, and succeeded his father, Francis the second Earl, in April, 1705. At the period when he embarked in the insurrection of 1715, Lord Derwentwater was only in his twenty-fifth year. The husband of a fair bride, and the father of a young family;—beloved for his amiable qualities, and respected for his high sense of honour;—exercising with grace and hospitality the powerful influence which his family possessed in the North of England;—courted by his equals and idolized by the poor;—there were few of the unfortunate partisans of the Stuarts who were greater sufferers by their allegiance to that ill-fated House than the young Earl of Derwentwater. Certainly, in the page of modern history, we shall find but few individuals who have made greater sacrifices to their principles; and but few who have been more beloved in their life-time, or more lamented in their death.

"Lord Derwentwater," says his associate, the Rev. Robert Patten, "was formed by nature to be universally beloved; for his benevolence was so unbounded, that he seemed only to live for others. He resided among his own people, spent his estate among them, and continually did them kindnesses. His hospitality was princely, and none in that country came up to it. He was very charitable to the poor, whether known to him or not, and whether Papists or Protestants. His fate was a misfortune to many who had no kindness for the cause in which he died." Smollett also has awarded a passing encomium to the memory of Lord Derwentwater, which deserves to be his epitaph. "He was an amiable youth," he says; "brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane: his fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country in which he lived; he gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estate; the poor, the widow, and the orphan rejoiced in his bounty."

In embarking in the insurrection of 1715, Lord Derwentwater had the twofold inducement of being a Roman Catholic, and of being closely connected by blood with the Stuarts; his mother, Mary Tudor, the late countess, being the natural daughter of Charles the Second, by Mary Davis, one of the most charming actresses and beautiful women of her day. The unfortunate lord was consequently first cousin to the Chevalier. The motives which induced him to join the fatal enterprise seem to have been those of generous impulse rather than of premeditation. In his speech before the House of Lords, when called up for

judgment, he says, "I beg leave to observe, that I was wholly unprovided with men, horses, arms, and other necessaries, which in my situation I could not have wanted had I been privy to any formed design; as my offence was sudden, so my submission was early."

The amount of Lord Derwentwater's offence, and the grounds on which the government were led to entertain suspicions of his loyalty, it is now impossible to ascertain. It is only certain that, on the eve of the insurrection, the Secretary of State signed a warrant for his arrest, and a messenger was sent down to Durham to seize his person. On being apprised of his danger, Lord Derwentwater immediately repaired to the nearest magistrate, and insisted on being made acquainted with the nature of the charges which had been brought against him; but the functionary was either too ignorant of the facts of the case, or perhaps too wary, to give him the required information. On quitting the presence of the magistrate, the first step taken by Lord Derwentwater was certainly not that of a man who had nothing to fear from the hands of his enemies or of the law. He immediately concealed himself in a cottage occupied by one of his tenants, where he continued till he had obtained satisfactory information that Forster, the member for Northumberland, had determined on taking up arms in behalf of the Chevalier, when he proceeded to arm and mount his own tenantry, at the head of whom he marched to Greenrig, which had been named as the place of rendezvous for those who had embarked their fortunes in the cause of the Stuarts.

It is perhaps remarkable that little more than a month should have elapsed, comprising a campaign in Scotland, and another in England, from the day on which the popular and gifted Derwentwater first appeared in arms at the head of a gallant band, and that on which he found himself a proscribed criminal within the walls of a prison. On the 6th of October, he joined the insurgent force at Greenrig; on the 13th of November, he fell into the hands of the Government at the memorable surrender of the Jacobite forces at Preston, and on the 9th of December, he found himself a prisoner in the Tower. Having been previously submitted to a brief examination before the Privy Council on the 10th of January, 1716, he was formally impeached of high treason, by the Commons of Great Britain, and was brought with the usual formalities to the bar of the House of Lords. An interval of nine days was allowed to him, as well as to the unfortunate noblemen who were his companions in adversity, to put in their several answers. Accordingly, on the 19th of the month, they were brought from the Tower to the bar of the Court in Westminster Hall, and amidst a scene almost unexampled for grandeur and affecting solemnity, severally pleaded guilty to the articles of their impeachment. On the 9th of February, Lord Derwentwater, with his ill-fated friends, the Earls of Nithisdale and Carnwath, and Lords Widdrington, Kenmure, and Nairn, were again brought to the bar in Westminster Hall to receive sentence; the only alteration in the ceremony being the slight but significant one, that the edge instead of the back of the axe was turned towards them.

When asked by the Lord High Steward if they had anything to advance why judgment should not be pronounced upon them, they severally dwelt on their own rashness and inconsiderateness in committing the offence for which they were doomed to suffer; at the same time, invoking his Majesty's pardon and mercy, which they insisted had been promised them when they surrendered at Preston; finally they invoked the intercession of the assembled Houses of Lords and Commons, declaring that if the royal clemency should be graciously extended to them, their gratitude to his Majesty would be unceasing, and that they would continue his most dutiful and devoted subjects to the end of their lives. "The terrors of your Lordships' just sentence," said Lord Derwentwater, "which at once deprives me of my life and estate, and completes the misfortunes of my wife and innocent children, are so heavy upon my mind, that I am scarce able to allege what may extenuate my offence, if anything can do it. I have confessed myself guilty; but, my lords, that guilt was rashly incurred without any premeditation."

The Lord Steward, in the reply which he made to the speeches of the insurgent lords, answered at some length the arguments which they had advanced in extenuation of their guilt. "And now, my lords," he solemnly concluded, "nothing remains but that I pronounce upon you, (and sorry am I that it falls to my lot to do it,) that terrible sentence, the same that is usually given against the meanest offender in like circumstances. The most ignominious and painful part of it is usually remitted, through the clemency

of the Crown, to persons of your quality; but the law, in this case being blind to all distinctions of persons, requires I should pronounce the sentence adjudged by this court, which is, that you, James Earl of Derwentwater, William Lord Widdrington, William Earl of Nithisdale, Robert Earl of Carnwath, William Viscount Kenmure, William Lord Nairn, and every one of you, return to the prison of the Tower from which you came; thence you must be drawn to the place of execution; when there you must be hanged by the neck, —not till you be dead; for you must be cut down alive, then your bowels taken out and burned before your faces. Your heads must be severed from your bodies, and your bodies divided into four quarters, to be at the King's disposal. And God Almighty be merciful to your souls."

Frequent and powerful intercession was made by the friends of the convicted noblemen to obtain their pardon. The young Countess of Derwentwater—a prey to the deepest affliction, and distracted by the idea of their speedy separation, and the terrible contemplation of his violent and bloody death,—put into practice every expedient which could be devised by an agonised and devoted wife to save the life of her ill-fated lord. Her youth, and the romantic peculiarity of her misfortunes, excited a general commiseration on her behalf. A few days after the condemnation of her husband,—accompanied by her sister, as well as by the Duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other ladies of high rank,—she was introduced, by the Dukes of Richmond and St. Albans, into the King's bedchamber, where she passionately but vainly prayed

for mercy for her unfortunate husband. She subsequently repaired to the lobby of the House of Lords, accompanied by the weeping ladies of the other condemned lords, and implored the intercession of the House; while at the same time formal petitions were laid before both Houses of Parliament. The Commons refused to listen to their suit, but in the House of Lords, commiseration for the distressed prevailed over the stern dictates of policy. In spite of the violent opposition of Lord Townshend, who insisted that the petitions ought not to be read, it was agreed, on the 22nd of February, that an address should be carried to the throne, praying that his Majesty would reprieve such of the condemned lords as might appear to him deserving of clemency.

To this petition, the King replied, that "On this, and all other occasions, he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown, and the safety of his people." The address, however, had, to a certain degree, the desired effect; for three of the condemned lords were reprieved till the 7th of March, with a view to their subsequent pardon; but unfortunately it was not thought expedient to include Lord Derwentwater among the number. Even his near relative, the Duke of Richmond,* who had consented to deliver his petition for mercy to the House of Lords, observed on presenting it, that though he had been induced to become an agent on the occasion, he should feel it his duty to declare himself opposed to a compliance with the prayer of the memorialist.

* The Duke of Richmond was the son, and the Earl of Derwentwater the grandson, of Charles the Second.

On the day following that on which the address for clemency was presented by the House of Lords, orders were issued in Council for the reprieve of Lords Widdrington, Carnwath, and Nairn; and at the same time warrants were signed for the immediate execution of the Earls of Derwentwater and Nithisdale, and Lord Kenmure.

Lord Derwentwater — the young, the hospitable, the generous, and humane — suffered on the 24th of February, 1716. On the afternoon which preceded the day of his execution, he sent for one Roome, an undertaker, in order that the latter might receive the necessary directions for his interment. Among other orders which he gave on the mournful occasion, it is said that he desired an inscription to be engraved on his coffin-plate, intimating that he had died in the cause of his lawful and legitimate sovereign: the undertaker, however, is stated to have refused to obey an order which would have compromised his own loyalty, and accordingly Lord Derwentwater gave no further directions in regard to his interment. After decapitation, his body was carried back in a cloth by his own domestics to the Tower.

About ten o'clock on the morning of his execution, Lord Derwentwater was brought in a coach from the Tower to the Transport Office on Tower Hill. After remaining there for a short time, he was led through an avenue of soldiers to the scaffold, which was erected directly opposite, and was entirely covered with black. As he ascended the fatal steps, he was observed to turn pale, but his voice remained firm, and he preserved his natural and easy compo-

sure. After passing about a quarter of an hour in prayer, he advanced to the rails of the scaffold, and, with the permission of the Sheriff, read aloud to the multitude a paper which he had drawn up. In this document he eulogized the Chevalier de St. George, and expressed his deep concern at having pleaded guilty at his trial, whereby he had admitted the authority by which he was sentenced. The country, he said, would always be exposed to distractions and disturbances, till they should have restored King James the Third, whom alone he acknowledged as his lawful sovereign, and for whom he died a willing sacrifice. He concluded, however, by saying, that had his life been spared, he should have felt himself bound in honour to live in peaceful obedience to the reigning monarch.

Having finished reading, he delivered the paper to the Sheriff, and a copy of it to a friend. He then closely examined the block, and finding on it a rough place, he desired the executioner to chip it off with his axe, lest it might hurt his neck. This being done, he took off his coat and waistcoat, telling the executioner that he would find something in the pockets which would reward him for his trouble. Then, having first of all lain down and fitted his neck to the block, he repeated a short prayer, the executioner kneeling by him, and asking his forgiveness. He told the latter, that the sign which he should give him to do his office, would be by repeating three times the words "Lord Jesus receive my soul," and stretching out his arms. He then once more fitted his head to the block, and having given the appointed signal, the

executioner performed his office at a single blow, and immediately holding up the head to the spectators exclaimed,—"Behold the head of a traitor! God save King George!" One of the servants of the unfortunate nobleman covered up his head in a clean handkerchief, while the rest, having wrapped up the body in a black cloth, conveyed it to the Tower. Lord Derwentwater lived and died a Roman Catholic.

By his wife, Mary, daughter of Sir John Webb, Bart., Lord Derwentwater was the father of two sons, who died young, and of one daughter, Mary, who married Robert James, eighth Lord Petre, and from whom the present Lord Petre is lineally descended. At the death of Lord Derwentwater, his brother, Charles Radcliffe, who subsequently suffered for his share in the insurrection of 1745, assumed the forfeited title. He married Charlotte Maria, Countess of Newburgh in her own right, and from their union descended the late and last Earl of Newburgh, who died in 1814. The magnificent estates of the Radcliffes in Northumberland and Cumberland were settled upon Greenwich Hospital, and continue among the few forfeitures which have not been restored by the House of Hanover to the descendants of the "rebel lords."

A question has often been raised as to the burial-place of the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater. The fact, however, seems to be now proved beyond a doubt, that his remains were interred, in the first instance, in the Church of St. Giles's in the Fields; from whence, agreeably with a wish expressed by him in his last moments, they were privately removed by his

friends and reinterred in the family vault of his ancestors at Dilston Hall in the North of England. The mournful procession is said to have moved only by night, resting during the day in chapels dedicated to the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, where the funeral services of that Church were daily performed over the body.

"A little porch," writes Mr. Surtees of Mainsforth, "before the farm-house of Whitesmocks, is still pointed out as the exact spot where the Earl's corpse rested, thus avoiding the city of Durham. The most extraordinary part remains. In 180.. the coffin which contained the Earl's remains was, from curiosity or accident, broken open; and the body, easily recognized by the suture round the neck, by the appearance of youth, and by the regularity of the features, was discovered in a state of complete preservation. The teeth were all perfect, and several of them were drawn by a blacksmith, and sold for half-a-crown a-piece, till the trustees, or their agents, ordered the vault to be closed again. The *aurora borealis*, which appeared remarkably bright on the night of the unfortunate Earl's execution, is still known in the north by the name of *Lord Derwentwater's lights*.*

The fate of the young and unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater gave birth to the following verses, which are among the most plaintive and touching of the Jacobite melodies.

* Hogg's Jacobite Relics, Second Series, p. 270.

LORD DERWENTWATER'S GOOD NIGHT.

Farewell to pleasant Dilston Hall,
My father's ancient seat;
A stranger now must call thee his,
Which gars my heart to greet.
Farewell each friendly well-known face,
My heart has held so dear;
My tenants now must leave their lands,
Or hold their lives in fear.

No more along the banks of Tyne
I 'll rove in autumn grey;
No more I 'll hear, at early dawn,
The lav'rocks wake the day.
Then fare thee well, brave Witherington,
And Forster ever true;
Dear Shaftesbury and Errington,
Receive my last adieu.

And fare thee well, George Collingwood,
Since fate has put us down;
If thou and I have lost our lives,
Our King has lost his crown.
Farewell, farewell, my lady dear,
Ill, ill thou counsell'dst me;
I never more may see the babe
That smiles upon thy knee.

And fare thee well, my bonny grey steed
That carried me aye so free;
I wish I had been asleep in my bed,
The last time I mounted thee.
This warning bell now bids me cease,
My trouble's nearly o'er;
Yon sun that rises from the sea
Shall rise on me no more.

Albeit that here in London town,
It is my fate to die;
O carry me to Northumberland,
In my father's grave to lie!
Then chant my solemn requiem,
In Hexham's holy towers;
And let six maids of fair Tynedale
Scatter my grave with flowers.

And when the head that wears the crown
Shall be laid low like mine,
Some honest hearts may then lament
For Radcliffe's fallen line.
Farewell to pleasant Dilston Hall,
My father's ancient seat;
A stranger now must call thee his,
Which gars my heart to greet.

32285

WILLIAM MAXWELL, EARL OF NITHISDALE.

His Connexion with the Insurgents.—His Committal to the Tower.—Escapes in Female Disguise.—Lady Nithisdale's Account of his Escape.

WILLIAM, fifth Earl of Nithisdale, was one of the last individuals either of influence or high rank who joined the standard of the Chevalier de St. George in 1715. He fell into the hands of the Government at the surrender of the insurgent force at Preston, and having been sent a prisoner to London, was forthwith committed to the Tower. On the 10th of January, 1716, he was impeached by the Commons of Great Britain, and on the 23rd he was brought from the Tower to Westminster Hall to undergo his trial for high treason. He pleaded guilty of the offence with which he was charged, and on the 9th of February was again conducted to Westminster Hall to receive judgment. When asked by the Lord High Steward why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he insisted that he had never been a systematic plotter against his Majesty's person or Government,—that he had been privy to no previous plot or design to restore the Stuarts,—that he was one of the last who joined the insurgent standard, and then without premeditation, and accompanied only by four of his servants. Further, he insisted, that on his surrender-

ing himself at Preston, he had been led to believe that his life would be spared; and he concluded by saying, that if the royal clemency were extended towards him, he would remain the faithful and devoted servant of his Majesty during the rest of his days.

Great, but unavailing intercession, — originating principally in the affectionate and unwearying devotion of his young Countess, a daughter of the Marquis of Powys,—was made in all quarters to save the life of Lord Nithisdale. Every effort, however, proving fruitless, and the warrant for his execution having been actually signed, Lady Nithisdale, at the hazard of her own life, determined, if possible, to accomplish by stratagem the escape of her unfortunate lord. The warrant for his execution was signed on the 22nd of February, and the terrible sentence was ordered to be carried into effect on the 24th. In the interim, Lord Nithisdale, with the assistance of his devoted wife, contrived, as is well known, to escape from the Tower in female disguise. Lady Nithisdale, in a letter to her sister, Lady Traquair, has herself left us an account of the particulars of her husband's flight, in the following narrative, which, for unaffected simplicity of style, for graphic description, and as affording a beautiful illustration of female heroism, can scarcely be read without exciting deep interest, and, indeed, is deserving of being bound in the same volume with Lady Fanshawe's exquisite personal memoirs.

"DEAR SISTER,

"My lord's escape is now such an old story, that I have almost forgotten it; but, since you desire me

to give you a circumstantial account of it, I will endeavour to recall it to my memory, and be as exact in the narration as I possibly can.

" My lord was very anxious that a petition might be presented, hoping that it would at least be serviceable to me. I was, in my own mind, convinced that it would answer no purpose; but as I wished to please my lord, I desired him to have it drawn up; and I undertook to make it come to the King's hand, notwithstanding all the precautions he had taken to avoid it. So the first day I heard that the King was to go to the drawing room, I dressed myself in black, as if I had been in mourning, and sent for Mrs. Morgan, (the same who accompanied me to the Tower,) because as I did not know his Majesty personally, I might have mistaken some other person for him. She stayed by me, and told me when he was coming. I had also another lady with me; and we three remained in a room between the King's apartments and the drawing-room; so that he was obliged to go through it; and as there were three windows in it, we sat in the middle one, that I might have time enough to meet him before he could pass. I threw myself at his feet, and told him in French, that I was the unfortunate Countess of Nithisdale, that he might not pretend to be ignorant of my person. But, perceiving that he wanted to go off without receiving my petition, I caught hold of the skirt of his coat, that he might stop and hear me. He endeavoured to escape out of my hands; but I kept such strong hold, that he dragged me upon my knees from the middle of the room to the very door of the drawing-room.

At last one of the blue-ribands who attended his Majesty, took me round the waist, while another wrested the coat out of my hands. The petition, which I had endeavoured to thrust into his pocket, fell down in the scuffle, and I almost fainted away through grief and disappointment.

"Upon this I formed the resolution to attempt his escape, but opened my intentions to nobody but to my dear Evans. In order to concert measures, I strongly solicited to be permitted to see my lord, which they refused to grant me unless I would remain confined with him in the Tower. This I would not submit to, and alleged for excuse, that my health would not permit me to undergo the confinement. The real reason of my refusal was, not to put it out of my power to accomplish my design. However, by bribing the guards, I often contrived to see my lord, till the day upon which the prisoners were condemned; after that, we were allowed for the last week to see and take our leave of him.

"By the help of Evans, I had prepared everything necessary to disguise my lord, but had the utmost difficulty to prevail upon him to make use of them. However, I at length succeeded by the help of Almighty God.

"On the 22nd of February, which fell on a Thursday, our petition was to be presented to the House of Lords; the purport of which was, to entreat the lords to intercede with his Majesty to pardon the prisoners. We were, however, disappointed the day before the petition was to be presented; for the Duke of St. Albans, who had promised my lady Derwentwater to

present it, when it came to the point failed in his word. However, as she was the only English Countess concerned, it was incumbent on her to have it presented. We had but one day left before the execution, and the Duke still promised to present the petition; but for fear he should fail, I engaged the Duke of Montrose, to secure its being done by one or the other. I then went, in company of most of the ladies of quality who were then in town, to solicit the interest of the lords as they were going to the House. They all behaved to me with great civility, but particularly my lord Pembroke, who, though he desired me not to speak to him, yet promised to employ his interest in our behalf. The subject of the debate was whether the King had the power to pardon those who had been condemned by Parliament; and it was chiefly owing to Lord Pembroke's speech that it passed in the affirmative. However, one of the lords stood up and said, that the House would only intercede for those of the prisoners who should approve themselves worthy of their intercession, but not for all of them indiscriminately. This salvo quite blasted all my hopes; for I was assured it aimed at the exclusion of those who should refuse to subscribe to the petition, which was a thing I knew my lord would never submit to; nor, in fact, could I wish to preserve his life on such terms.

"As the motion had passed generally, I thought I could draw some advantage in favour of my design. Accordingly I immediately left the House of Lords, and hastened to the Tower, where, affecting an air of joy and satisfaction, I told all the guards I passed by, that I came to bring joyful tidings to the prisoners.

I desired them to lay aside their fears, for the petition had passed the House in their favour. I then gave them some money to drink to the lords and his Majesty, though it was but trifling; for I thought that, if I were too liberal on the occasion, they might suspect my designs, and that giving them something would gain their good humour and services for the next day, which was the eve of the execution.

"The next morning I could not go to the Tower, having so many things in my hands to put in readiness; but, in the evening, when all was ready, I sent for Mrs. Mills, with whom I lodged, and acquainted her with my design of attempting my lord's escape, as there was no prospect of his being pardoned; and this was the last night before the execution. I told her that I had everything in readiness, and that I trusted she would not refuse to accompany me, that my lord might pass for her. I pressed her to come immediately, as we had no time to lose. At the same time I sent for a Mrs. Morgan, then usually known by the name of Hilton, to whose acquaintance my dear Evans had introduced me, which I look upon as a very singular happiness. I immediately communicated my resolution to her. She was of a very tall and slender make; so I begged her to put under her own riding-hood one that I had prepared for Mrs. Mills, so she was to lend her's to my lord, that, in coming out, he might be taken for her. Mrs. Mills was then with child; so that she was not only of the same height, but nearly of the same size as my lord. When we were in the coach, I never ceased talking, that they might have no leisure to reflect. Their

surprise and astonishment, when I first opened my design to them, had made them consent, without ever thinking of the consequences.

"On our arrival at the Tower, the first I introduced was Mrs. Morgan; for I was only allowed to take in one at a time. She brought in the clothes that were to serve Mrs. Mills, when she left her own behind her. When Mrs. Morgan had taken off what she had brought for my purpose, I conducted her back to the staircase; and in going, I begged her to send me in my maid to dress me; that I was afraid of being too late to present my last petition that night, if she did not come immediately. I dispatched her safe, and went partly down stairs to meet Mrs. Mills, who had the precaution to hold her handkerchief to her face, as was very natural for a woman to do when she was going to bid her last farewell to a friend, on the eve of his execution. I had, indeed, desired her to do it, that my lord might go out in the same manner. Her eyebrows were rather inclined to be sandy, and my lord's were dark and very thick; however, I had prepared some paint of the colour of her's to disguise his hair as her's; and I painted his face with white, and his cheeks with rouge, to hide his long beard, which he had not time to shave. All this provision I had before left in the Tower. The poor guards, whom my slight liberality the day before had endeared me to, let me go quietly with my company, and were not so strictly on the watch as they usually had been; and the more, as they were persuaded, from what I had told them the day before, that the prisoners would obtain their pardon. I made Mrs. Mills take off her

own hood, and put on that which I had brought for her. I then took her by the hand, and led her out of my lord's chamber; and in passing through the next room, in which there were several people, with all the concern imaginable, I said, "My dear Mrs. Catherine, go in all haste and send me my waiting-maid: she certainly cannot reflect how late it is: she forgets that I am to present a petition to-night; and if I let slip this opportunity, I am undone, for to-morrow will be too late. Hasten her as much as possible; for I shall be on thorns till she comes. Every one in the room, who were chiefly the guards' wives and daughters, seemed to compassionate me exceedingly; and the sentinel officiously opened the door. When I had seen her out, I returned back to my lord, and finished dressing him. I had taken care that Mrs. Mills did not go out crying, as she came in, that my lord might better pass for the lady who came in crying and afflicted; and the more so because he had the same dress which she wore. When I had almost finished dressing my lord in all my petticoats, excepting one, I perceived it was growing dark, and was afraid that the light of the candles might betray us; so I resolved to set off. I went out leading him by the hand, and he held his handkerchief to his eyes. I spoke to him in the most afflicted and piteous tone of voice, bewailing bitterly the negligence of Evans, who had ruined me by her delay. Then said I, "My dear Mrs. Betty, for the love of God, run quickly, and bring her with you. You know my lodgings, and if ever you made dispatch in your life, do it at present: I am almost distracted with this disappoint-

ment." The guards opened the doors, and I went down stairs with him, still conjuring him to make all possible dispatch. As soon as he had cleared the door, I made him walk before me, for fear the sentinel should take notice of his walk; but I still continued to press him to make all the dispatch he possibly could. At the bottom of the stairs I met my dear Evans, into whose hands I confided him. I had before engaged Mr. Mills to be in readiness before the Tower to conduct him to some place of safety, in case we succeeded. He looked upon the affair as so very improbable to succeed, that his astonishment, when he saw us, threw him into such consternation, that he was almost out of himself; which Evans perceiving, with the greatest presence of mind, without telling him anything, lest he should mistrust them, conducted my lord to some of her own friends on whom she could rely, and so secured him, without which, we should have been undone. When she had conducted him and left him with them, she returned to find Mr. Mills, who by this time had recovered himself from his astonishment. They went home together, and having found a place of security, they conducted him to it.

"In the mean while, as I had pretended to have sent the young lady on a message, I was obliged to return up stairs and go back to my lord's room in the same feigned anxiety of being too late; so that everybody seemed sincerely to sympathise with my distress. When I was in the room, I talked to him as if he had been really present, and answered my own questions in my lord's voice as nearly as I could imitate it.

I walked up and down as if we were conversing together, till I thought they had enough time to clear themselves of the guards. I then thought proper to make off also,—I opened the door, and stood half in it, that those in the outward chamber might hear what I said; but held it so close that they could not look in. I bid my lord a formal farewell for that night; and added, that something more than usual must have happened to make Evans negligent on this important occasion, who had always been so punctual in the smallest trifles, that I saw no other remedy than to go in person: that if the Tower were still open when I finished my business, I would return that night; but that he might be assured that I would be with him as early in the morning as I could gain admittance into the Tower; and I flattered myself that I should bring favourable news. Then, before I shut the door, I pulled through the string of the latch, so that it could only be opened on the inside. I then shut it with some degree of force, that I might be sure of its being well shut. I said to the servant as I passed by, who was ignorant of the whole transaction, that he need not carry in candles to his master till my lord sent for him, as he desired to finish some prayers first. I then went down stairs and called a coach, as there were several on the stand; I drove home to my lodgings, where poor Mrs. Mackenzie had been waiting to carry the petition, in case my attempt had failed.

"Her Grace of Montrose said she would go to Court, to see how the news of my lord's escape was received. When the news was brought to the King, he flew into an excess of passion, and said he was betrayed; for it

could not have been done without some confederacy. He instantly dispatched two persons to the Tower, to see that the other prisoners were well secured.*

"When I left the Duchess, I went to a house which Evans had found out for me, and where she promised to acquaint me where my lord was. She got thither some few minutes after me, and told me that when she had seen him secure, she went in search of Mr. Mills, who, by this time, had recovered himself from his astonishment; that he had returned to her house where she had found him; and that he had removed my lord from the first place where she had desired him to wait, to the house of a poor woman, directly opposite to the guard-house. She had but one very small room up one pair of stairs, and a very small bed in it. We threw ourselves upon the bed, that we might not be heard walking up and down. She left us a bottle of wine and some bread, and Mrs. Mills brought us some more in her pocket the next day. We subsisted upon this provision from Thursday till Saturday night, when Mrs. Mills came and conducted my lord to the Venetian Ambassador's. We did not communicate the affair to his Excellency, but one of his servants concealed him in his own room till Wednesday, on which day the Ambassador's coach and six was to go down to meet his brother. My lord put on a livery and went down in the retinue,

* It has been related of George the First, that when informed of Lord Nithisdale's escape, he remarked drily but good-naturedly, that it was "the best thing that a man in his situation could have done." The genuineness, however, of the anecdote is rendered somewhat questionable by Lady Nithisdale's statement.

without the least suspicion, to Dover, where Mr. Mitchell (which was the name of the Ambassador's servant) hired a small vessel, and immediately set sail for Calais. The passage was so remarkably short, that the captain threw out a reflection, that the wind could not have served better if his passengers had been flying for their lives, little thinking it to be really the case. Mr. Mitchell might have easily returned without being suspected of being concerned in my lord's escape; but my lord seemed inclined to have him continue with him, which he did, and has at present a good place under our young master."*

Shortly after his arrival in France Lord Nithisdale was joined by his heroic wife. Being both of them Roman Catholics, they took up their abode in Rome, where they continued to reside till the death of the Earl on the 20th of March, 1744. His family honours had been extinguished by his attainder; but fortunately, in consequence of precautions which he had taken some years before embarking in the Insurrection of 1715, his estates were allowed to descend to his son, John Lord Maxwell.† Lady Nithisdale survived her husband five years, dying also at Rome, in 1749.

* Transactions of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, vol. i. pp. 523, 538.

† "His lordship had disposed his estate to his son, Lord Maxwell, 28th of November, 1712, reserving his own life-rent. It was finally determined by the House of Lords, 21st of January, 1723, that only his life-rent of his estate was forfeited."—Wood's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 321.

SIMON LORD LOVAT.

His early Attachment to the House of Stuart.—Assumes the Title, and claims the Estates, of the deceased Lord Lovat.—His Daughter institutes legal Proceedings against her Relative.—Lord Lovat's Stratagem to make her his Wife frustrated.—His atrocious Marriage with her Mother.—Warrant issued for his Arrest.—Sets the Government at defiance.—His Flight to the Court of the Pretender.—Returns to Scotland as the accredited Agent of the Stuarts.—Arrested by the French King for Treachery.—Enters into Holy Orders to effect his Release.—Joins the Society of Jesuits.—Returns to Scotland, and joins the Adherents of the House of Hanover.—Obtains undisputed Possession of his Titles for his Reward.—Joins the Insurgents after the Battle of Preston.—His Arrest after the Battle of Culloden.—His Trial and Execution.

THIS extraordinary man, who crowned a youth of violence and dissipation with an old age of avarice, treachery, and mean cunning, was the eldest son of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, by Sybilla Macleod, daughter of the chief of that powerful clan. He was born in 1668.

Inheriting from his forefathers an ardent attachment to the House of Stuart, we have his own statement that at the early age of thirteen years he suffered imprisonment for his exertions in their cause; and three years afterwards we find him engaged in the insurrection fomented by General Buchan, with the object of restoring the exiled family. Not long afterwards, he obtained a commission in Lord Tulli-

bardine's regiment, and in 1692, on the death of his kinsman, Hugh Lord Lovat, assumed the title and claimed the estates of the deceased lord, of whom he was the nearest male heir.

The late Lord Lovat had left an only daughter, Amelia, whose claims to the possessions and title of her father received the powerful support of her uncle, the Marquis of Athol, and accordingly, with the aid of his influence and advice, she entered into a legal contest with her young kinsman for the succession. The delays, however, and technicalities of the law accorded but ill with the violent and headstrong character of the Highland chieftain, and accordingly he resolved on obtaining a much speedier accomplishment of his purpose by a forcible union with his fair opponent, by which means he hoped to amalgamate her claims to the chieftainship and to the family estate with his own. The young lady, it seems, was on the eve of marriage with the son of Lord Saltoun, and the negotiations were drawn so nearly to a close, that the young bridegroom was actually on his way with his father to the country of the Frasers in order to complete the alliance. They had nearly reached their destination, when they were suddenly seized upon by Lord Lovat at the head of a large body of his clan; and being hurried to the foot of a gibbet, were compelled, by the fear of instant death, to renounce for ever their claims to the hand of the heiress of Lovat.*

* Lord Lovat has himself left us an account of these transactions, which, as may naturally be expected from an *ex-parte* statement, is very different from that given by his contemporaries. The account in question will be found in the "Memoirs of the Life of Lord Lovat," (p. 43

In the meantime, the young lady had the good fortune to effect her escape. The lawless Highlander, however, imagining that by a marriage with the Dowager Lady Lovat, instead of her daughter, he should secure, by means of her large jointure, a legal interest in the estate, determined on another atrocious and abominable act. His proposed victim was a sister of the Marquis of Athol, then the most powerful nobleman in Scotland. Heedless of consequences, he seized her, with a few of the most daring of his retainers, in her own house; and having, in the first instance, compelled a Roman Catholic priest to read the marriage ceremony between them, he actually cut open her stays with his dirk, and, with the assistance of his followers, tore off her clothes, and forced her to bed. It may be mentioned, as a fit sequel to this act of lawless brutality, that the marriage was consummated in the presence of his retainers, while the bagpipes played in the next apartment to smother her screams.

For this daring act of outrage, as also on account of the intrigues in which he had long been engaged in the cause of the Stuarts, Lord Lovat was cited to appear on a certain day before the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh, and a warrant was issued for his arrest. Confiding, however, in his own resources,—in the fidelity of his Highland retainers,—and in the peculiar means of defence presented by

—63,) which, though evidently of little value as a trustworthy narration, nevertheless draws a most curious picture of the lawless state of the Highlands at that period, and places the headstrong character and violent passions of Lord Lovat, as drawn by himself, in no less vivid a light than they are drawn by his contemporaries.

the wild and rugged district over which he ruled, he determined on setting the Government at defiance. Letters of fire and sword were now issued against him and his clan, and a large detachment of the King's forces, backed by a numerous body of the Marquis of Athol's powerful clan, were marched into the Fraser territory. For a time they were gallantly and successfully resisted by Lord Lovat and his adherents, and several warm skirmishes took place between the opposing parties. At length, however, his enemies proving too powerful for him, Lord Lovat was compelled to fly the kingdom. He now repaired to the court of the exiled family at St. Germains, where he ingratiated himself so much with the widow of James the Second, as well as with the French monarch, Louis the Fourteenth, that it was decided on sending him back to the Highlands as an accredited agent to induce the chieftains to revolt,—the French court supplying him with a considerable sum of money, to assist in defraying the expenses of the projected insurrection, and also granting him a commission conferring on him the rank of Major-General.

Daring and dissimulation constituted the two principal ingredients in the character of this extraordinary man. Though still plotting against the Government of William the Third, he so far found means to justify himself as to obtain a pardon for his former acts of treason, although his conviction for the violence to Lady Lovat still remained in force. Notwithstanding that this latter offence was punishable with death, he had the hardihood, on his return from the Highlands, not only to visit Edinburgh, but in pass-

ing through London on his return to France, he actually obtained an interview with the Duke of Queensberry, the royal Commissioner and Representative of Queen Anne in Scotland, to whom he betrayed all the secrets of the exiled court. Nevertheless, he had the audacity to return to his employers in France; but his double treachery being unexpectedly discovered, the French King committed him, on the 4th of August, 1704, to the Castle of Angoulême, and subsequently to the Bastile.

During the three years that Lord Lovat remained a prisoner of state, he seems to have principally exercised his restless mind and crafty genius in hatching fresh treasons and anticipating new adventures. At an early period of his negotiations with the exiled court of St. Germains,—with the view of ingratiating himself with Louis the Fourteenth and Mary of Modena,—he had declared himself a convert to the Romish faith. This step he improved, while a prisoner in the Bastile, by taking holy orders, and having, principally by this means, obtained his release, this singular being actually enrolled himself among a society of Jesuits, whom he had not only address enough to deceive by an assumption of superior holiness, but for a time actually did duty as *curé* at St. Omer.

The hope, however, of obtaining his pardon from the English Government—the ambition of securing to himself the chieftainship of the Fraser clan, and of the Lovat estate, as well as the prospect of employment and adventure,—so much more congenial to his tastes—had never been obliterated from the

restless mind of the desperate outlaw, and were revived in full force by the first tidings which he received of the Earl of Mar having raised his standard in 1715. Accordingly he immediately repaired to Scotland, where, says Sir Walter Scott, "his appearance was like one of those portentous sea-monsters whose gambols announce the storm." The part which he took on this occasion was such as might have been anticipated from the consummate and unblushing profligacy which had hitherto distinguished every act of his life. He immediately enlisted himself beneath the standard of the House of Hanover. The object of his early ambition or love, the heiress of Lovat, had united herself to Mackenzie of Fraserdale, who, acting as chief of his wife's clan, had summoned the Frasers to arms, and had arrayed them in the ranks of the Chevalier de St. George. The Frasers, almost to a man, were devoted to the cause of the Stuarts, but such was the implicit obedience which they considered due to the *male* representative of their ancient chieftains, that Lord Lovat's commands were no sooner communicated to them, than they withdrew themselves from the camp of the Earl of Mar, and returned to their own country. As the desertion of this powerful clan took place on the eve of the battle of Sheriffmuir, there can be no doubt that Lord Lovat performed a valuable service for the House of Hanover, which he improved, shortly afterwards, by the measures which he adopted for preventing Inverness falling into the hands of the Jacobites. He was rewarded for these services with the command of a Highland regiment, and also, it is said, with a

considerable sum of money, besides being allowed to assume unquestioned the title of Lovat, and to establish himself peaceably in the chieftainship of his clan.

From this period, till the breaking out of the insurrection of 1745, Lord Lovat continued to reside principally among his own people in the Highlands. Some years, however, after the affair of 1715, the son of Mackenzie of Fraserdale commenced two different suits against him in the law-courts of Edinburgh for the recovery of the Lovat title and Fraser estates. The former was decided in favour of Lord Lovat, while in the latter case, a compromise took place between the opposing parties, by which, on payment of a certain sum of money, Lord Lovat was confirmed in the undisputed possession of the property, and in all the rights and immunities of chieftain of his clan. After his return from France in 1715, he was twice married; first, in 1717, to a daughter of the Laird of Grant, by whom he had two sons and two daughters; and secondly to a lady of the name of Campbell, a relation of the powerful family of Argyll, whose friendship it was supposed he calculated on securing when he contracted the marriage. Failing in this desired object, he vented his resentment on his unfortunate wife by confining her in one of his turrets at Castle Downie, where she pined for a considerable time, stinted even in the common necessaries of wholesome food and decent raiment. It was entirely owing to the affectionate fearlessness of a female relative of Lady Lovat, who by tact and stratagem obtained access to her privacy, that her relations

were made acquainted with the circumstances of her unhappy situation, and effected her emancipation. She obtained a separation from her brutal lord, and survived him many years.

Sir Walter Scott has drawn a curious picture of the mode of living at Castle Downie, and of the manner in which Lord Lovat exercised the patriarchal power which he inherited from his forefathers. "His hospitality," says Sir Walter, "was exuberant, yet was regulated by means which savoured much of a paltry economy. His table was filled with Frasers, all of whom he called his cousins, but took care that the fare with which they were regaled was adapted, not to the supposed equality, but to the actual importance of his guests. Thus the claret did not pass below a particular mark on the table; those who sat beneath that limit had some cheaper liquor, which had also its bounds of circulation; and the clansmen at the extremity of the board were served with single ale. Still it was drunk at the table of their chief, and that made amends for all. Lovat had a Lowland estate, where he fleeced his tenants without mercy, for the sake of maintaining his Highland military retainers. He was a master of the Highland character, and knew how to avail himself of its peculiarities. He knew every one whom it was convenient for him to caress; had been acquainted with his father; remembered the feats of his ancestors, and was profuse in his complimentary expressions of praise and fondness. If a man of substance offended Lovat, or, which was the same thing, if he possessed a troublesome claim against him, and was determined to enforce it, one

would have thought that all the plagues of Egypt had been denounced against the obnoxious individual. His house was burnt, his flocks driven off, his cattle houghed; and if the perpetrators of such outrages were secured, the jail of Inverness was never strong enough to detain them till punishment. They always broke prison. With persons of low rank, less ceremony was used; and it was not uncommon for witnesses to appear against them for some imaginary crime, for which Lord Lovat's victims suffered the punishment of transportation."*

Enjoying the favour of the Government, and having accomplished every legitimate object which he ought to have had in view, it might have been supposed that this extraordinary man,—so lately a proscribed and penniless adventurer,—would have sat down satisfied with his good fortune, instead of again embarking in the whirlpool of rebellion, or in the crooked policy of dissimulation and intrigue. On the contrary, we find him a second time an apostate to his cause, and plotting, heart and soul, against the Government which had showered on him the many benefits which he so little deserved. His character was rendered still more despicable by the life of low and disgusting sensuality which he notoriously led, and which presents a picture so degradingly profligate as almost to be unequalled in the annals of vice.

At the time when Prince Charles landed in the Highlands of Scotland, Lord Lovat was verging towards his eightieth year. There can be no doubt that his secret prepossessions were in favour of the

* "Tales of a Grandfather," vol. iii. pp. 148, 149.

cause of the Stuarts, for not only did he imagine himself to have been neglected by the reigning family, but it was the cause for which, in his earliest childhood, he had been taught to believe that no sacrifice could be too great, and for which his forefathers had so often shed their dearest blood. It was natural, too, that the veteran chieftain, who had himself been so distinguished in his youth for a love of daring and adventure, should have sympathized with the fortunes of a young and gallant Prince, who, having landed in the wild Hebrides with only seven followers, had made his way to the capital of Scotland, and collecting a devoted army in his triumphant progress, was now holding his gay court in the ancient palace of his forefathers.

But where self-interest or aggrandisement were concerned, it was not in the nature of Lord Lovat to be in the slightest degree biassed either by the calls of duty or the impulse of romance. His great object was to side with, and gain credit from, the victorious party, and consequently, wavering between his hopes and fears, his duplicity led him, at one and the same time, to correspond with the agents of Prince Charles and of the Government, and to express himself the devoted servant of both. In addition to other curious evidence which has already appeared in print, in regard to the vacillating and ambiguous policy of Lord Lovat at this period, I am enabled to lay before the reader the following unpublished letter addressed by him to the Lord Advocate Craigie, in which he not only professes the warmest feelings of devotion towards the House of Hanover, but has the confidence

to demand a supply of arms and accoutrements, with which he promises to array his powerful clan, and to send them forth against "the mad and unaccountable gentleman" who had dared to raise his standard and set the Government at defiance. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that had the English Government complied with his demand, those very arms would have been turned against themselves.

LORD LOVAT TO THE LORD ADVOCATE CRAIGIE.

"Beaufort, August 24th, 1745.

"My Lord,

"I received the honour of your most obliging and kind letter, for which I give your lordship a thousand thanks. Your lordship judges right, when you believe that no hardship or ill-usage that I meet with can alter or diminish my zeal and attachment for his Majesty's person and Government. I am as ready this day (as far as I am able) to serve the King as I was in the year 1715, when I had the good fortune to serve the King in suppressing that great rebellion, more than any one of my rank in the island of Britain.

"But my clan and I have been so neglected these many years past, that I have not twelve stand of arms in my country; though, I thank God, I could bring twelve hundred good men to the field for the King's service, if I had arms and other accoutrements for them. Therefore, my good lord, I earnestly entreat, that as you wish that I would do good service to the Government on this critical occasion, you may

order immediately a thousand stand of arms to be delivered to me and my clan at Inverness, and then your lordship shall see that I will exert myself for the King's service. Although I am infirm myself these three or four months past, yet I have very pretty gentlemen of my family, that will lead my clan wherever I bid them for the King's service; and if we do not get those arms immediately, we will certainly be undone, for those madmen that are in arms with the Pretended Prince of Wales threaten every day to burn and destroy my country, if we do not rise in arms and join them; so that my people cry out horridly, that they have no arms to defend themselves, nor no protection nor support from the Government.

"I earnestly entreat that your lordship may consider seriously on this, for it will be an essential and singular loss to the Government, if my clan and kindred be destroyed, who possess the centre of the Highlands of Scotland, and the countries most proper by their situation to serve the King and Government.

"As to my son, my lord, that you are so good as to mention, he is very young, and just done with his colleges at St. Andrew's, under the care of a relation of your's, Mr. Thomas Craigie, professor of Hebrew, who truly I think one of the prettiest and most complete gentlemen that ever I conversed with in any country, and I think myself most happy that my son has been under his tutory. He assures me that he never saw a youth that pleased him more than my eldest son. He says that he is a very good scholar, and has the best genius for learning of any he has seen; and it is by Mr. Thomas Craigie's positive advice, which he

will tell you when you see him, that I send my son immediately to Utrecht, and other places abroad, to complete his education. But I have many a one of his family now fitter to command than he is at his tender age; and I do assure your lordship that they will behave well if they are supported as they ought to be by the Government, and I hope your lordship will procure that support for them.

"I hear that mad and unaccountable gentleman has set up a standard at a place called Glenfinnan, Monday last. This place is the inlet from Moidart to Lochabar, and I hear of none that have joined them as yet, but the Camerons and Mac Donalds,—and they are in such a remote corner, that nobody can know their number, or what they are doing, except those that are with them.

"I humbly beg to have the honour to hear from your lordship in return to this; and I am, with all the esteem and respect imaginable, my dear lord, &c.

"LOVAT."

At length the victory obtained by Charles at Preston decided the wavering mind of Lord Lovat; indeed so overjoyed was he at receiving the unexpected tidings, that, forgetting for a moment his usual consummate cunning, he descended into his court-yard at Castle Downie, flung his hat on the ground, and drank "success to the White Rose, and confusion to the White Horse and all its adherents." But with the return of his allegiance to the House of Stuarts, the crafty old traitor forgot not for a moment the hazard which he ran by arraying his clan against

the Government; and accordingly, steering a middle and dastardly course, he sent forth his son, the young Master of Lovat, at the head of seven or eight hundred of his followers, while he himself remained quietly at home, inveighing to the Government against the disobedience of his son, who, he impudently affirms had armed his clan against his express orders and to his infinite distress. To the Lord President he writes on the 20th of October,—"I do solemnly declare to your lordship, that nothing ever vexed my soul so much as the resolution of my son to go and join the Prince." And again he writes on the 30th, —"Am I, my lord, the first man that has had an undutiful son? Or am I the first man that has made a good estate, and saw it destroyed in his own time by the foolish actings of an unnatural son, who prefers his own extravagant fancies to the solid advice of an affectionate old father? I have seen instances of this in my own time; but I never heard till now that the foolishness of a son would take away the liberty and life of a father, that was an honest man, and well inclined to the rest of mankind. But I find the longer a man lives, the more wonders and extraordinary things he sees."

Such is the language of Lord Lovat, when speaking of his gallant son, whose life and fortunes he so wantonly exposed to save his own. It is well known, however, that it was only in consequence of the threats and urgent entreaties of his unnatural father, that the young Master Lovat, then a student in the University of St. Andrew's, in his nineteenth year, was induced to join the standard of the Chevalier.

Four years after the suppression of the Insurrection, he received a full and free pardon, and subsequently entered the British army, in which he attained a high rank. This amiable and high-minded officer died in battle in the American War of Independence.

In consequence of the dilatory policy of Lord Lovat, it was not till the Chevalier entered England that he was joined by the Frasers. During the triumphant march of the insurgents to Derby, the wily chieftain continued to flatter himself that his darling hopes were on the eve of accomplishment, and, should the worst happen to his heir and his clan, that he had at least secured to himself the safe possession of his life and his estates. The result, however, of the fatal battle of Culloden decided his fate. One of the first acts of the Duke of Cumberland after the action, was to send a body of troops to Beaufort Castle, the neighbouring seat of Lord Lovat, who not only pillaged and burned his castle, but laid waste his lands, and carried off with them, for the use of the army, all the cattle and provisions which they could find in the district. From the top of a neighbouring mountain, the miserable old man is said to have witnessed the destruction of his property, and the flames that ravaged the home of his forefathers.

Satisfied that if he should fall into the hands of his enemies, his life would be the next sacrifice, Lord Lovat, accompanied by about sixty of his followers, endeavoured to effect his escape to a sea-port town, where he hoped to find a vessel to convey him to France. The path which he chose was through one of the wildest districts of Invernesshire; but he had

proceeded no great distance, when he was overtaken by a troop of the royal cavalry, who discovered him wrapped in a blanket, and hid in the hollow of an old tree, which grew on a little island in the middle of a lake. As he was too old and unwieldy either to ride or walk,* the soldiers constructed a kind of litter, resembling a cage, in which they carried him to the head-quarters of the army at Fort Augustus;† from whence he was sent by sea to London, to be at the disposal of the government. On the 15th of August, 1746, he arrived at the Tower, in an open landau, drawn by six horses. As he drew near to the gloomy portal of that memorable fortress,—and when his eye caught the scaffolds which were being erected for the convenience of those who proposed to witness the approaching executions of Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock,—his self possession for a moment deserted

* As early as the year 1731, we find him complaining of his increasing infirmities. To Mr. John Forbes he writes,—"I am much indisposed since I saw you at your own house; many marks appear to show the tabernacle is failing; the teeth are gone; and now the cold has seized my head, that I am almost deaf with a pain in my ears. These are so many sounds of trumpet that call me to another world, for which you and I are hardly well prepared; but I have a sort of advantage of you; for if I can but die with a little of my old French belief, I shall get the legions of Saints to pray for me; while you will only get a number of drunken fellows, and the innkeepers and tapister lasses of Inverness, and Mr. McBean, that holy man!"—*Culloden Papers*, p. 122.

† "Yesterday I had the pleasure of seeing that old rebel, Lord Lovat, with his two aids-du-camp, and about sixty of his clan, brought in here prisoners. He is 78 years of age, has a fine comely head to grace Temple Bar, and his body is so large, that I imagine the doors of the Tower must be altered to get him in. He can neither walk nor ride, and was brought in here in a horse-litter, or rather a cage, as hardened as ever."—*Letters from Fort Augustus, June* 17, 1746, *Gent's. Mag.* vol. xvi. p. 325.

him. "Ah!" he exclaimed, as he glanced on the long and mournful preparations, "such in a few days will be my unhappy fate." He soon, however, recovered his composure, and on being brought into the Tower observed,—"Were I not so old and infirm, you would find it difficult to keep me here." Some one answering that they had kept much younger prisoners, —"True," he said, "but they were inexperienced, and have not broke so many gaols as I have."

Lord Lovat was impeached by the House of Commons on the 11th of December, 1746, and was tried by his peers in Westminster Hall on the 8th of March, 1747. During his trial, which lasted seven days, his behaviour was marked by a strange mixture of courage, levity, and low humour. On the first day, in Westminster Hall, observing the celebrated Henry Pelham at some distance, he beckoned him towards him;—"Is it worth while," he said, "to make all this fuss to take off the grey head of a man of fourscore years old?" The same day we find him flying into a violent passion with one of his Highland retainers who had been brought as a witness against him; and on another day, when asked by the Lord High Steward if he had anything to say to Sir Everard Falkener, who had just been examined,—"No," he replied, "but that I am his humble servant, and wish him joy of his young wife." To Lord Ilchester, who sat near the bar, he observed,—"*Je meurs pour ma patrie, et ne m'en soucie guères.*"—"The two last days," writes Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, "he behaved ridiculously, joking, and making everybody laugh even at the sentence. I did not

think it possible to feel so little as I did at so melancholy a spectacle; but tyranny and villany, wound up by buffoonery, took off all edge of concern. The foreigners were much struck."

During the trial, Lord Lovat endeavoured to avail himself of those arts of dissimulation and low cunning for which he had been distinguished from his youth. The evidence against him, however, was far too clear for either talent or artifice to set it aside. A great number of letters were produced which had been addressed by him to the exiled court; John Murray, of Broughton, secretary to the young Chevalier, and even some of his own domestics, appeared as witnesses against him, and accordingly, notwithstanding his great age, and an eloquent speech which he addressed to his peers, he was condemned to death with the usual formalities. He listened to the solemn sentence, not only with composure, but with levity; and, on being removed from the bar, exclaimed,—"Farewell my lords, we shall never all meet again in the same place." There is a story still prevalent in Scotland, that when on his way to the Tower, after his condemnation, an old woman thrust her head into the window of the coach which conveyed him, and exclaimed,—"You d—d old rascal, I begin to think you'll be hung at last."—"You d—d old——," is said to have been the reply,—"I begin to think I shall."

On the night before his execution, one of the warders expressing his regret that the morrow should be "such a bad day with his lordship,"—"Bad!" replied Lord Lovat; "for what? do you think I am afraid of an axe? It is a debt we must all pay, and

better in this way than by a lingering disease." The same night he is said to have ate a hearty supper, and the following morning, having dressed himself with considerable care, he sat down to breakfast with the lieutenant of the Tower, and a few of his own friends, with whom he conversed with his usual cheerfulness and ease. "It would have been better," he said, "to have sentenced me to be hanged, for my neck is so short and bent, that the executioner will be sure to strike me on the shoulders." On being brought to the house on Tower Hill which had been prepared for his reception, he partook of a small piece of bread and some wine; on which occasion, the remarkable steadiness with which he conveyed the latter to his mouth, is said to have attracted particular observation. Shortly afterwards, attended by a Roman Catholic priest, he proceeded to the scaffold, his great age and infirmities requiring the aid of two warders to assist him in ascending the steps. On mounting the fatal stage, he glanced round on the vast multitude which had collected to witness his execution. "God save us!" he said, with a sneer; "why should there be such a bustle about taking off an old grey head from a man who cannot get up three steps without two assistants."

In the case of Lord Lovat, certainly "nothing in his life became him like the leaving it," nor was there ever a stronger example of the truth of the observation, that it is easier to die well than to live well. Notwithstanding his many vices, and the exceeding infamy of his character, this extraordinary man quitted the world with a dignity and composure which

would have done credit to an ancient Roman: there was nothing of bravado in his demeanour; nothing of levity or false taste in the unembarrassed cheerfulness with which he spoke of his approaching fate, and gazed on the frightful apparatus. "He died," says Walpole, "extremely well, without passion, affectation, buffoonery, or timidity: his behaviour was natural and intrepid." Smollett also observes,—"From the last scene of his life, one would have concluded that he had approved himself a patriot from his youth, and had never deviated from the paths of virtue." On mounting the scaffold, he called for the executioner, to whom he presented ten guineas, and after slightly jesting with him on his occupation, felt the edge of the axe, and told him he should be very angry with him if he should hack or mangle his shoulders. Having spent some time at his devotions, he quietly laid down his head on the block, and after a very brief delay, gave the sign for the executioner to strike; repeating, almost with his latest breath, the beautiful line of Horace, *Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori.*" The executioner severed his head from his body at a single blow.

Lord Lovat,—"the last of the martyrs," as he was styled by his own party,—was executed on the 7th of April, 1747, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. No coronach was performed over the grave of the powerful chieftain, and the manner of his funeral was far different from that which he sketched in a very eloquent passage in one of his letters to the Lord President Forbes. "I am resolved," he writes, "to live a peaceable subject in my own house, and do

nothing against the King or Government; but if I am attacked by the King's guards, with his captain-general at their head, I will defend myself as long as I have breath in me: and if I am killed here, 'tis not far from my burial place; and I shall have, after I am dead, what I always wished,—the coronach of all the women in my country to convey my body to my grave; and that was my ambition, when I was in my happiest situation in the world."* His remains were interred, with so many others of the illustrious and headless dead, in St. Peter's Church, in the Tower.

* Letter to the Lord President, October 29, 1745.

WILLIAM GORDON, VISCOUNT KENMURE.

Account of the Family of Gordon, Viscount Kenmure.—Lord Kenmure's disinterested Conduct in espousing the Cause of the Stuarts.—Taken Prisoner at Preston.—His Trial and Execution.

WILLIAM GORDON, Viscount Kenmure, the representative of an ancient race, and descended from the celebrated Adam de Gordon who fell at Halidon Hill,* was already advanced in life when he engaged in the insurrection of 1715. Virtuous, amiable, and resolute; respected for his sound sense and religious principles, and beloved for the charity and hospitality which he dispensed among his neighbours;—enjoying an ample estate, and surrounded by attached friends and relatives,—Lord Kenmure, in taking up arms in the cause of the Stuarts, could have been influenced by no other motive than a strong and conscientious sense of duty.

The circumstance of the gallant and unfortunate Kenmure joining the standard of the Chevalier, gave rise to one of the most spirited of the Jacobite songs:—

Kenmure's on and awa', Willie,
Kenmure's on and awa';
And Kenmure's lord 's the bravest lord
That ever Galloway saw.

Success to Kenmure's band, Willie,
Success to Kenmure's band;
There is no heart that fears a Whig,
That rides by Kenmure's hand.

* See Sir Walter Scott's Preface to "Halidon Hill."

There 's a rose in Kenmure's cap, Willie,
There's a rose in Kenmure's cap;
He 'll steep it red in ruddie heart's blude,
Afore the battle drap.
For Kenmure's lads are men, Willie,
For Kenmure's lads are men;
Their hearts and swords are mettle true,
And that their faes shall ken.

They 'll live and die wi' fame, Willie,
They 'll live and die wi' fame;
And soon wi' sound of victorie
May Kenmure's lads come hame.

Here 's Kenmure's health in wine, Willie,
Here 's Kenmure's health in wine;
There ne'er was a coward of Kenmure's blude,
Nor yet o' Gordon's line.

His lady's cheek was red, Willie,
His lady's cheek was red;
When she his steely jupes put on,
Which smelled o' deadlie feud.
Here 's him that's far awa', Willie,
Here 's him that 's far awa';
And here 's the flower that I love best,
The rose that 's like the snaw.

Lord Kenmure joined the insurgents at Moffat on the 12th of October 1715, and fell into the hands of the Government at the surrender of the Jacobite forces at Preston. At his trial in Westminster Hall, he pleaded guilty of the crime with which he was charged, and on being asked by the Lord High Steward why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he addressed a speech to the House, which was principally remarkable for its brevity. "My lords," he said, "I am truly sensible of my crime, and want words to express my repentance. God knows I never had any personal prejudice against his Majesty, nor was I ever accessory to any previous design against him. I humbly beg my noble peers and the honourable House of Commons to intercede with the King for mercy to me, that I may live to show myself the dutifullest of his subjects and be the means to keep my wife and four small children from starving; the

thoughts of which, with my crime, make me the most unfortunate of gentlemen."

The greatest exertions were made to save the life of Lord Kenmure, but to no purpose. He suffered on the 24th of February, 1716, on the same day and on the same scaffold as Lord Derwentwater. His behaviour to the last was calm, resolute, and resigned. Lord Derwentwater having been first executed, and his body removed from the scaffold, Lord Kenmure mounted the fatal stage with great firmness, attended by his son, a few friends, and two clergymen of the Church of England. "I had so little thoughts," he said, "of suffering so soon, that I did not provide myself with a suit of black, that I might have died with more decency; for which I am very sorry." He said but little on the scaffold, but advancing to one side of it, he knelt down to prayers, in which he was joined by several of the bystanders. Being asked if he had anything to say, he answered briefly in the negative. He made no speech on the occasion declaratory of his principles, but he was heard to pray audibly for the Prince in whose cause he suffered. On the day also preceding his death, he had addressed a letter to a friend, in which he disavowed the false principles which he had professed in his speech before the House of Lords, expressing his devotion to the Chevalier de St. George, whom he acknowledged as his legitimate sovereign, and adding, that he died, as he had ever lived, in the profession of the Protestant religion.

Having concluded his devotions, Lord Kenmure divested himself of his coat and waistcoat without

betraying the least emotion, and having in the first instance laid down to try the block, he again rose up, and putting his hand in his pocket, presented the executioner with some money. "I shall give you no sign," he said; "but when I have lain down, you may do your work as you will." He then knelt down again, and having passed a few moments in inward devotion, he clasped his arms round the block, and fitting his neck to it, the executioner, seeing his time, raised his axe, and with two blows severed his head from his body. After the head fell, the hands were still found clinging firmly round the block. The head as well as the body were placed in a coffin which was on the scaffold, and were then carried away in a hearse, which was stationed in readiness to perform the mournful service.

Of the fate of the remaining individuals of rank and influence, who figured in the insurrection of 1715, a passing notice is rendered necessary.

The personal history of the DUKE OF ORMOND, after the failure of his attempt to effect a rising in the West of England in 1715, presents, with the exception of the striking moral which it affords of fallen greatness, but few features of any interest. After his return to France, we find him engaged for some years in the various intrigues which were set on foot for the restoration of the Stuarts. "Having embraced that fatal measure," says Archdeacon Coxe, "he was too honest and zealous to act like Bolingbroke, and ob-

tain a pardon by sacrificing his new master, or by entering into a compromise with his prosecutors." At length, time and repeated disappointments seem to have convinced the Duke of Ormond of the fruitlessness of originating or embarking in fresh intrigues. Neglected and almost forgotten, he spent the last twenty years of his long life chiefly in a melancholy retirement at Avignon, subsisting on a small pension allowed him by the court of Spain. Such was the closing career of this once powerful and magnificent nobleman, who had been the favourite alike of the phlegmatic William and of the gentle Anne; who had been viceroy of Ireland and Chancellor of the University of Oxford; who, in his youth, had distinguished himself at Luxembourg, Sedgmoor, Landen and the Boyne; who had been one of the principal promoters of the great Revolution of 1688; who had received the thanks of Parliament for destroying the Spanish galleons in the harbour of Vigo in 1702; who had succeeded the great Duke of Marlborough in command of the British army in Flanders; and who, lastly, had once been so idolized by the people of England, that "Ormond and High Church" had been the watchwords of tumult and insurrection throughout the land! The Duke of Ormond died on the 16th of November 1745. His remains were brought to England, and were interred in the family vault in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey, on the 22nd of May, 1746.

THE EARL OF MAR, after the suppression of the insurrection of 1715, had the good fortune to save his

head by embarking from Montrose in the same vessel with the Chevalier de St. George, by which means he made good his retreat to France. He conducted the affairs of the Chevalier till the beginning of the year 1721, when he lost his master's confidence, and retired into private life. "The unfortunate Earl," says Sir Walter Scott, was a man of fine taste; and in devising modes of improving Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, was more fortunate than he had been in schemes for the alteration of her Government. He gave the first hints for several of the modern improvements of the city." By his attainder in 1745, Lord Mar lost his titles and estates. George the First, however, confirmed to his Countess,—Lady Frances Pierrepont, sister of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,—the jointure on her husband's forfeited estates, to which she was entitled by her marriage settlements. Lord Mar, who had been secretary of State under Queen Anne, died an exile at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1732.

GEORGE KEITH, EARL MARISCHAL, after the dispersion of the Jacobite forces, contrived to effect his escape to France, and after undergoing the various vicissitudes of an exile's life, entered the civil service of the King of Prussia, by whom he was both honoured and beloved, and, on different occasions, was employed as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Courts of France and Spain. He was rewarded by the Prussian monarch for his diplomatic services with the insignia of the Black Eagle, and in his old age had the easy appointment conferred on him of

Governor of the little State of Neufchatel. Mackay says of Earl Marischal, in middle age,—"He is very wild, inconstant, and passionate; does everything by starts; hath abundance of flashy wit; and by reason of his quality, hath good interest in the country. He is a thorough libertine, yet sets up mightily for Episcopacy; a hard drinker; a thin body; a middle stature; ambitious of popularity; and is forty-five years old." This picture, which can scarcely be regarded as a pleasing one, is widely different from that which Rousseau draws of Earl Marischal in his Confessions, when the latter was in the evening of life. "He used," says Rousseau, "to call me his child, and I called him my father. When first I beheld this venerable man, my first feeling was to grieve over his sunken and wasted frame; but when I raised my eyes on his noble features, so full of fire, and so expressive of truth, I was struck with admiration. Though a wise man, my Lord Marischal is not without defects. With the most penetrating glance, with the nicest judgment, with the deepest knowledge of mankind, he yet is sometimes misled by prejudices, and can never be disabused of them. There is something strange and wayward in his turn of mind. He appears to forget the persons he sees every day, and remembers them at the moment when they least expect it; his attentions appear unseasonable, and his presents capricious. He gives or sends away on the spur of the moment whatever strikes his fancy, whether of value or whether a trifle. A young Genevese, who wished to enter the service of the King of Prussia, being one day introduced to him,

my lord gave him, instead of a letter, a small satchel full of peas, which he desired him to deliver to his Majesty. On receiving this singular recommendation, the King immediately granted a commission to the bearer. These high intellects have between them a secret language which common minds can never understand. Such little eccentricities, like the caprices of a pretty woman, rendered the society of my Lord Marischal only the more interesting, and never warped in his mind either the feelings or the duties of friendship." Earl Marischal, having obtained his pardon from the English Government, paid a visit to England in 1750, but after the absence of only a few months, he returned to Berlin, where he died in 1751. The celebrated Marshal Keith, (who also fought in the ranks of the Stuarts at the battle of Sheriffmuir, and who closed a long life of glory at the unfortunate battle of Hochkirchen in 1758,) was the younger brother of Earl Marischal.

ROBERT DALZIEL, EARL OF CARNWATH, is described by Patten as a nobleman distinguished by his affability to his inferiors, by his sweetness of temper, and the ease and facility with which he delivered himself in conversation. Though a devoted adherent of the Stuarts, he was nevertheless a sincere believer in the Protestant faith. He surrendered himself at Preston, and having pleaded guilty to the crime of high treason at his trial in Westminster Hall, he was sentenced to be executed. With some difficulty his life was spared, and after having been respited from time to time, he was at length released from

prison by the Act of Grace in 1717. The world seems to have been of opinion that the unfortunate nobleman had purchased a prolonged existence at the expense of his honour. Deprived by his attainder of his honours and estates, he is said to have worn out his life in an unenviable retirement, alike avoided by his friends and despised by his enemies. His position was the more pitiable, inasmuch as he was the father of numerous children, to whom he is said to have been tenderly attached, and whom his imprudence had reduced to a state of comparative poverty. Lord Carnwath died about the year 1726.

GEORGE SETON, EARL OF WINTOUN, who was also sentenced to death for his share in the insurrection, is said to have been partially affected with insanity. If such, however, was the case, it was scarcely reconcileable either with his conduct during a very trying period, with the ingenuity which he displayed in conducting his defence, or with the cleverness with which he subsequently effected his escape from the Tower. At the period when he engaged in the insurrection he was only in his twenty-fifth year. Previous to this period, among other eccentricities, he had lived for a long time as a bellows-blower and assistant to a blacksmith in France, without holding the slightest communication with his family or friends,—a mode of existence which, during the campaign of 1715, enabled him to amuse his associates with many curious stories of his wanderings and his adventures in low life. Unlike his companions in misfortune, he declined appealing to the

throne for mercy, and stubbornly refused to sanction any appeal made to the Government on his behalf. Partly by inducing his attendants to connive at his escape, and partly by the ingenuity with which he contrived to saw the bars of his prison, he effected his escape from the Tower, and subsequently found means to reach the Continent. "He ended his motley life at Rome," says Sir Walter Scott, "and with him terminated the long and illustrious line of Seton, whose male descendants have, by intermarriage, come to represent the great houses of Gordon, Aboyne, and Eglinton." Lord Wintoun died in 1749, at the age of fifty-nine. His estates were forfeited by his attainder, and have since passed through several hands.

WILLIAM WIDDRINGTON, LORD WIDDRINGTON, was descended from an ancient family in Northumberland, and was great-grandson of that Lord Widdrington who fell gallantly in the cause of Charles the First at Wigan Lane, and whom Lord Clarendon has immortalized as "one of the most goodly persons of that age." Of his great-grandson, however, Patten has left us a far less favourable account. "I never," he says, "could discover anything like boldness or bravery in him." Lord Widdrington was taken prisoner at Preston; he pleaded guilty to the indictment charging him with high treason, and, together with his two brothers, who had also been engaged in the insurrection, was sentenced to death on the 7th of July 1716. The next year he was discharged from prison under the Act of Grace, but his honours

and estate remained forfeited by his attainder. Lord Widdrington died at Bath, in comparative poverty, in 1743.

WILLIAM MURRAY, LORD NAIRN, although the father of twelve children, and with every inducement to remain a peaceful citizen under the existing government, was nevertheless rash enough to risk his life and fortune in the fatal enterprise of 1715. He resisted the importunities of his wife, who earnestly conjured him to remain at home, and on parting from her at the head of his followers to join the standard of the Chevalier, he observed playfully,—"I hope shortly to see you a Countess." Lord Nairn distinguished himself on several occasions during the insurrection by his personal gallantry, but falling into the hands of the Government, he was hurried to London, and when impeached for high treason, pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to death. When asked why judgment should not be passed on him, he pleaded the cause of his wife and twelve children, and threw himself entirely on the King's mercy. There seems at first to have been no intention to remit his sentence. A petition which he addressed to the King was thought undeserving of an answer, and when Lady Nairn, in an agony of grief and suspense, threw herself at his Majesty's feet as he passed through the royal apartments at St. James's, he is said to have repulsed her with a rough and positive refusal. The boon, however, which was refused to the wife, was granted to more powerful intercession; and Lord Nairn, shorn of his

honours and estate, received, in the first instance, a respite, and was subsequently released. During the remainder of his life, he is said to have unceasingly regretted having been false to his principles, and to have constantly charged himself with meanness and cowardice in suing for mercy to a Prince whom his conscience assured him was a usurper.

THOMAS FORSTER, Esq., who was entrusted by the Chevalier with the command of the insurgent forces in England, was member of Parliament for the county of Northumberland, and a person of considerable influence in the North of England. As regards his qualifications as a general, or even as a daring adventurer, it is sufficient to remark that he possessed neither the experience, the judgment, nor the energy to enable him to fill with credit the dangerous post which was assigned to him. After his surrender at Preston, he was led on horseback to London with his associates in misfortune, each prisoner having a trooper riding beside him, who guided his horse with a halter. "On reaching Barnet," says Mr. Foster's chaplain, the Reverend Robert Patten, "we were all pinioned, more for distinction than pain." To the last, Forster appears to have flattered himself with the pleasing conviction, that he and his companions in adversity would be rescued by a Tory mob. These hopes, however, were destined to be miserably disappointed. On his approach to London, the news reached him that three of his Jacobite associates had been executed the day before, and that "their quarters were then in a box hard by, in order to be set

upon the gates."—"This," says Patten, "spoiled his stomach, so that he could not eat with his then unhappy companions." On his arrival in London he was committed to Newgate, from whence, by means of false keys, he contrived to effect his escape on the 10th of April, three days before his intended trial. Relays of horses had previously been stationed in readiness for him in the direction of the coast, by which means he reached the town of Rochford in Essex, where a vessel was waiting for him, which conveyed him to France. His death took place at Paris about the year 1734.

Of the persons of inferior rank who fell into the hands of the Government, about five hundred were committed to Chester Castle, and many more were confined at Liverpool and Carlisle.* Of these individuals, about a thousand petitioned for transportation; a great number were tried and found guilty, but twenty-two only were executed in Lancashire, and four or five were hung, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, according to their sentence. Among the

* Bishop Nicholson writes to Archbishop Wake, from Carlisle, Sept. 13, 1716:—"The Castle, where the prisoners are lodged, is a moist and unwholesome place; and our garrison is so thin, that the commandant is forced, for security, to crowd them all into three rooms. Then the greatest part of them sleep upon bare straw. For though they are generally desirous and sufficiently able to hire beds, the townsmen are loath to let their goods be carried into a place where they are sure to rot. In this miserable state have most of these mad creatures been for four or five days past; several roaring in fits of the gout or gravel. Nor can I see any appearance of their being relieved. These complaints are very uneasy to me."—*Ellis's Original Letters*, vol. iii. p. 167, 1st series.

latter was the Reverend William Paul, of St. John's College, Cambridge, who, on the scaffold, exhorted the people to return to their allegiance to their rightful sovereign, King George, at the same time professing himself a true and sincere member of the Church of England, but opposed to the revolution-schismatic church, whose bishops had abandoned their king, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical rights, by submitting to the unlawful, invalid, lay deprivations authorized by the Prince of Orange.

In addition to the executions already enumerated, four officers, Major Nairn, Captain Philip Lockhart, brother of Lockhart of Carnwath, Captain Shafto, and Ensign Dalziel, brother of the Earl of Carnwath, were tried by court-martial as deserters, and shot. Charles Radcliffe, brother of the Earl of Derwentwater, escaped from Newgate on the 11th of December, 1715; and on the 10th of May, Brigadier Mac Intosh, Robert Hepburn of Keith, and thirteen others, also contrived to effect their escape. Having found means to rid themselves of their irons, they crept down stairs at eleven o'clock at night, and concealed themselves close to the door of the jail, where they remained till it was opened to admit a servant, when they knocked down the jailer and rushed into the street. A few of the party, not knowing whither to betake themselves, were afterwards recaptured.*

* "Robert Hepburn, of Keith," says Sir Walter Scott, "had pinioned the arms of the turnkey by an effort of strength, and effected his escape into the open street without pursuit. But he was at a loss whither to fly, or where to find a friendly place of refuge. His wife and family were, he knew, in London; but how, in that great city, was he to discover them, especially as they most probably were residing there under

"If we consider the object of the rebels," says Lord John Russell, "the blood which they spilt in their enterprise, and the necessity of securing the kingdom by some examples of severity from further disturbance, we shall probably be of opinion, that as much mercy was shown as was consistent with the safety of the established government, and the vindication of the rights of the people."*

In Scotland, the partizans of the Chevalier de St. George were more fortunate than their brethren in arms who surrendered at Preston. We have already seen that the Earl Marischal, the Earls of Mar and Melfort, and Lord Drummond, had contrived to escape to the Continent. The same good fortune attended the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earls of Southesk and Seaforth, Lord Tynemouth, Sir Donald Mac Donald, and others of the Highland chieftains. After skulking for some time in the mountains, the majority of them passed to Skye, Lewis, and other of the Western Isles, where they remained concealed till they obtained vessels to carry them to France.

feigned names? While he was agitated by this uncertainty, and fearful of making the least inquiry, even had he known in what words to express it, he saw at a window in the street an ancient piece of plate, called the Keith Tankard, which had long belonged to his family. He immediately conceived that his wife and children must be inhabitants of the lodgings, and entering without asking questions, was received in their arms. They knew of his purpose of escape, and took lodgings as near the jail as they could, that they might afford him immediate refuge; but dared not give him any hint where they were, otherwise than by setting the well-known flagon where it might, by good fortune, catch his eye. He escaped to France."—*Tales of a Grandfather*, vol. iii. pp. 100, 101.

* History of the Principal States of Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht, vol. ii. p. 46.

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and youthful History of the Prince.—Serves under Noailles at Dettingen.—Hopes and Expectations of the Jacobites from his Character.—Joins the Expedition under Marshal Saxe.—Dispersion of the French Fleet, and Disappointment of the Prince's Hopes. His Letter to his Father on the eve of his Departure for Scotland.

CHARLES EDWARD LOUIS PHILIP CASIMIR STUART, commonly called "the Young Pretender," was the eldest son of Prince James Frederick, by Clementina Maria, daughter of Prince Sobieski, eldest son of John, King of Poland. He was born at Rome on the 20th of December, 1720, and continued to reside principally in the Papal dominions, till the day on which he departed on his memorable expedition into Scotland. Of the history of his childhood but little is known. It is certain, however, that at a very early age he gave high promise of future excellence, and that the reports which continued to reach England of his enterprising character and generous disposition, were such as to revive the most sanguine expectations among the adherents of the Stuarts, and to excite a corresponding degree of apprehension in the minds of the English Ministry.

Charles was only in his fifteenth year, when he was sent by his father to serve under the celebrated Duke

of Berwick at the siege of Gaeta. His conduct during the siege, his contempt of danger, and the quickness and intelligence with which he learned the duties of a soldier,—procured him the highest encomiums from all quarters. On the 7th of August, 1734, the Duke of Berwick writes from Gaeta to the Duke of Fitzjames,—"Just on the Prince's arrival, I conducted him to the trenches, where he showed not the least surprise at the enemy's fire, even when the balls were hissing about his ears. I was relieved the following day from the trenches, and as the house I lodged in was very much exposed, the enemy discharged, at once, five pieces of cannon against it, which made me move my quarters. The Prince arriving a moment after, would, at any rate, go into the house, though I did all I could to dissuade him from it, by representing to him the danger he was exposing himself to; yet he staid in it a very considerable time, with an undisturbed countenance, though the walls had been pierced through with the cannon-balls. In a word, this Prince discovers, that in great Princes, whom Nature has marked out for heroes, valour does not wait the number of years. I am now—blessed be God for it!—rid of all my uneasiness, and joyfully indulge myself in the pleasure of seeing the Prince adored by officers and soldiers. His manner and conversation are really bewitching. We set out for Naples in a day or two, where I am pretty certain his Royal Highness will charm the Neapolitans, as much as he has done our troops." From such a person as the Duke of Berwick this was indeed valuable praise. Charles continued to serve under the Duke, till the

lamented death of the latter, a few months afterwards, at the siege of Philipsburg.

Peace having been concluded between France and the Empire in the following year, Charles had no other opportunity of distinguishing himself in arms till the breaking out of the war between England and France in 1743, when he joined the French army under the Duc de Noailles. He was present at the battle of Dettingen, which was fought in that year; on which occasion he is said to have highly distinguished himself by his personal gallantry, being one of the foremost to charge the enemy and one of the last to retreat.

It has been asserted that the education of the young Prince was purposely neglected by his tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, whom the English government found means to retain in their pay. This may possibly have been one of those deep-laid schemes of Sir Robert Walpole—one of those acts of watchful policy and careful foresight, by which he preserved the sovereignty of these realms to the House of Hanover, at the period when it was constantly threatened with destruction from foreign intrigues and domestic discontent. A similar story is related of the boyhood of William the Third, for whom the celebrated Pensionary, John De Witt, is said to have provided a tutor of mean abilities, in order to depress and keep in the background the intellectual energies of the future champion of Protestantism and liberty in Europe. Probably, however, neither in the case of William the Third, nor in that of Prince Charles Edward, had the story much foundation in fact.

Owing to the supineness of the Chevalier de St. George, commonly called the Old Pretender, and to his increasing age and infirmities, the English and Scottish Jacobites had long ceased to expect the immediate realization of their darling hopes in the restoration of the House of Stuart to the throne of these kingdoms. As the young Prince, however, progressed towards manhood, these hopes were once more enthusiastically revived; and about the year 1740, secret associations had begun to be formed among persons of rank and influence in the Highlands, who waited only for the certainty of succour from France or Spain, and the appearance of the young Prince on their shores, to rush into open insurrection, and to devote their lives and fortunes to the cause of their legitimate sovereign.

To imaginations, indeed, less heated with feelings of deep and devotional loyalty than those of the Highland chieftains, the time appeared to be far from distant, when the grandson of Charles the First might be anointed on the throne of his ancestors at Westminster, or hold his peaceful levees at St. James's or Whitehall.* The signs of the times

* Though for a time we see Whitehall
With cobwebs hanging on the wall,
Instead of gold and silver bright,
That glanced with splendour day and night,—
With rich perfume
In every room,
That did delight that princely train,—
These again shall be,
When the time we see,
That the King shall enjoy his own again.

Jacobite Song.

(at that particular period, at least, when Charles received his famous invitation from the Court of France, to join the force under Marshal Saxe, intended for the invasion of England,) certainly held out a fair promise of success. An influential portion of the English nobility and gentry, at the head of whom was the Premier Duke, the Duke of Norfolk, were known to be thoroughly disgusted with the reigning dynasty, and though reluctant to risk their lives and fortunes without a tolerable certainty of success, were nevertheless secretly prepossessed in favour of the Stuarts. The great majority of the Highland chieftains were enthusiastically devoted to their cause; several of the most influential of the Lowland gentry were known to be well-inclined towards the exiled family; while Ireland was certain to embark in a cause of which the watch-words were Papal supremacy and legitimate right.

There were many other circumstances which tended to arouse the dormant hopes and expectations of the Jacobites. England was at this period engaged in a war with Spain, and it was anticipated, with good reason, that France also would speedily be numbered among her enemies. The elevation of Cardinal de Tencin to the supreme power in France; the well-known enterprising character of that ambitious churchman; his regard for the members of the exiled family, and more especially the personal obligation which he was under to the Chevalier de St. George, whose interest had advanced him to the purple, rendered it far from improbable that he would plunge his country into a war with her hereditary

enemy; in which case he could scarcely fail to take advantage of the divided state of public opinion in England, and, by adopting the cause of the Stuarts, have seized a favourable opportunity of making a descent upon her shores. George the Second, moreover, was at this period in the zenith of his unpopularity; and not only did there prevail throughout England a vast amount of distress and misery, which was ingeniously exaggerated by party writers, but the undue preference which had long been shown, both by the King and his father, to the interests of their native and petty Electorate over those of England, had long excited universal indignation and disgust. "No Hanoverian King!" had become the frequent toast, not only of the Jacobites, but of many who had formerly been well affected towards the existing government; and the very term of "Hanoverian" is said to have become a bye-word of insult and reproach.

It was at this crisis that, in the summer of 1743, Prince Charles, then in his twenty-fourth year, received a secret invitation from the Court of France to join the expedition under the famous Marshal Saxe, which was intended for the invasion of England. Never, perhaps, was such an invitation offered to one so peculiarly situated, and never, under any circumstances, perhaps, was it more cordially accepted. Warmed with the generous enthusiasm of youth, and embarking in what he believed to be a rightful and a righteous cause, he panted to set his foot on the land of his ancestors, and, by his own sword and his own energies, to replace his father on a

throne which had been the heir-loom of his family for many hundred years, and of which all the laws of legitimacy assured him that they had been wrongfully deprived. The child of circumstance and of education, he could be expected to acknowledge neither the principles nor the laws which had deprived him of, and still excluded him from, his patrimony. From infancy he had been sedulously taught to regard the reigning sovereign, George the Second, as the usurper of his father's throne, and he could scarcely regard as otherwise than false, mischievous, and heretical, those civil and religious principles which had deprived his family of their birthright and driven them into exile. Educated in the most exalted notions of the royal prerogative; firmly and conscientiously convinced of the righteousness of his own cause; accustomed from his infancy to listen to arguments of sweet and poisonous fallacy — we cannot attribute it to him as a crime that he should have fearlessly and gallantly embarked in a cause which he firmly and devoutly believed to be one of religion and of right.

When we remember, indeed, the circumstances of his education;—that he had been confided to the charge of priests and bigots; and, moreover, that he had been nursed in the lap of luxury, and accustomed to the enervating pleasures and habits of a soft and luxurious climate — we can only wonder that there should have been generated in such a quarter those powers of endurance and that spirit to act,—those kindly and generous feelings, and those clear and excellent abilities, which distinguished the

gallant and warm-hearted Prince in the early period of his career, and which were displayed by him under circumstances of difficulty and danger, such as it has been the lot of few besides himself to encounter. Lord Mahon, speaking of the cloud which overshadowed the Prince's character in later years, observes:—"But not such was the Charles Stuart of 1745! Not such was the gallant Prince, full of youth, of hope, of courage, who, landing with seven men in the wilds of Moidart, could rally a kingdom round his banner, and scatter his foes before him at Preston and at Selkirk! Not such was the gay and courtly host of Holyrood! Not such was he whose endurance of fatigue and eagerness for battle shone pre-eminent, even amongst Highland chiefs; while fairer critics proclaimed him the most winning in conversation, the most graceful in the dance! Can we think lowly of one who could acquire such unbounded popularity in so few months, and over so noble a nation as the Scots; who could so deeply stamp his image on their hearts, that, even thirty or forty years after his departure, his name, as we are told, always awakened the most ardent praises from all who had known him — the most rugged hearts were seen to melt at his remembrance —and tears to steal down the furrowed cheeks of the veteran? Let us, then, without denying the faults of his character, or extenuating the degradation of his age, do justice to the lustre of his manhood." *

On the 9th day of January, 1744, the Prince took an affectionate leave of his father, and departed secretly

* History of England from the Peace of Utrecht, vol. iii. p. 245.

from Rome with the intention of joining the expedition under Marshal Saxe. "I trust, by the aid of God," were his parting words to his father, "that I shall soon be able to lay three crowns at your Majesty's feet." The old Chevalier seems to have been much affected at their separation. "Be careful of yourself," he replied, "my dear boy, for I would not lose you for all the crowns in the world!"

As the English Government had received information of the Prince's intended movements, and, moreover, as the King of Sardinia had given orders on land, and Admiral Mathews had received directions at sea, to intercept his person, it was necessary that his departure from Rome should be conducted with the utmost secrecy. Having been furnished with the necessary passports by Cardinal Aquaviva, he gave out that he was proceeding on a hunting expedition; and having subsequently disguised himself as a Spanish courier, he travelled post, attended only by one servant, through Tuscany and Genoa to Savona. Here he embarked on board a small ship, and sailing boldly through the British fleet, arrived in safety at Antibes; whence he rode post to Paris.

After a short stay in the French capital, during which he was not even admitted to the Royal presence, he set off in disguise for the coast of Picardy, and subsequently took up his abode at Gravelines, where, under the name of the Chevalier Douglas, he resided in the strictest privacy during the summer of 1744,* and where for the first time the shores of England met his view. The time which he was

* Home's Hist. of the Rebellion of 1745, p. 33.

compelled to pass at this place, expecting daily and anxiously the arrival of the French squadrons from Brest and Rochefort, seems to have been extremely irksome to the young adventurer. "The situation I am in," he writes to his father, "is very particular, for nobody knows where I am, or what is become of me; so that I am entirely buried as to the public, and cannot but say that it is a very great constraint upon me, for I am obliged very often not to stir out of my room for fear of somebody's noting my face. I very often think that you would laugh very heartily, if you saw me going about with a single servant, buying fish and other things, and squabbling for a penny more or less!" And again he writes,— "Everybody is wondering where the Prince is: some put him in one place, and some in another, but nobody knows where he is really; and sometimes he is told news of himself to his face, which is very diverting."

The circumstances which led to the failure of the French expedition against England, and to the consequent destruction of the Prince's hopes, may be related in a few words. Admiral Roquefeuille, with the French fleet, having sailed up the British Channel, and finding, on his arrival at Spithead, that there was no force to oppose him, had written in the most pressing manner to Marshal Saxe, who had assembled his troops at Dunkirk, urging him to embark them immediately on board the transports, and at once make a descent on the shores of England. The advice was promptly followed by the Marshal, who instantly hurried seven thousand men

on board the first transports, and embarked himself with the Prince on board his own ship. Another body of eight thousand men had orders to follow as speedily as possible; and, as the Isle of Thanet and the coast of Kent were at this period entirely unprotected by any naval or military force, the consternation which prevailed throughout England may be more readily imagined than described.

In the mean time Admiral Roquefeuille had proceeded off Dungeness, where he fell in with the British fleet under Sir John Norris. As the force under the command of this officer was vastly superior to that of the French, it was the policy as well as the duty of the English Admiral to compel them to an immediate engagement, by which means he might have performed a most important service for his country at one of the most critical periods in her annals. For some reason, however, he chose to delay the attack till the next morning, when it was discovered that the French had wisely made their retreat towards their own shores. Fortunately, before they could reach their harbours in safety, they were overtaken by a violent tempest, from which they sustained great damage. The same storm, also, blowing directly on Dunkirk, drove back the French transports with great violence towards their own coast; destroying some of them, and effecting incalculable injury to many of the others. A disaster so formidable in its effects was not to be easily remedied; and so disheartened were the French government, that they determined on abandoning the expedition altogether. The French troops were drafted from Dun-

kirk, and Marshal Saxe appointed to the command of the army in Flanders.

The Prince's mortification at these untoward circumstances may be readily imagined. Hope, however, never deserted him; and so confident was he in his own energies and in the affectionate devotedness of his adherents in Scotland, that he even seriously proposed to Earl Marischal to set sail there in a herring-boat, and place himself at their head. Prevented, by the strenuous opposition of the Earl, from putting this rash scheme into execution, he formed another of entering the French army and serving in its ranks, in which he was also thwarted by the kindly remonstrances of the Earl, who very forcibly argued with him on the injury which he would entail on his cause in England, by fighting against his own countrymen.

During the greater portion of the sixteen months which elapsed between the failure of the expedition under Marshal Saxe till the Prince's actual departure for Scotland, Charles, by the advice of his father, resided in the strictest retirement in the neighbourhood of Paris and in other parts of France. In one of his letters to his father, in June 1744, he speaks of his seclusion as being that of a hermit; and again he writes to him, on the 3rd of January 1745,—"This I do not regret in the least, as long as I think it of service to our cause: I would put myself in a tub, like Diogenes, if necessary." His time appears to have been principally occupied in maturing his favourite scheme of making a descent on the Highlands; in raising money for the purchase

of arms and ammunition; in carrying on a correspondence with the principal Highland chieftains; and in addressing importunate but vain appeals to the French Government to aid and abet him in the design he had in view. With the exception of some empty professions of good will, and occasionally an insignificant sum to meet his personal necessities, he met with neither encouragement nor succour from the French Court. Neither were the tidings which he received from his friends in the Highlands of a much more encouraging nature. They were ready, they assured him, in the event of a fair prospect of success, to risk their lives and fortunes in his cause; but they added, that unless he landed in Scotland accompanied with a force of six thousand troops, and with at least ten thousand stand of arms, it would be useless, and, indeed, fatal to make any attempt on his behalf. In their letters to him, the Highland chieftains, with the single exception of the young Duke of Perth, expressed their strong and decided opinion that he should abandon the enterprise till a more fitting opportunity; and they even stationed one of their own body, Murray of Broughton, on the Highland coast, in order to intercept the Prince's progress, and to implore him to effect a timely retreat.

When we consider the cold treatment which Charles continued to experience from the French Court;—the apparent lukewarmness of his friends in Scotland; the great difficulty which he found in raising money; and the annoyance to which he was constantly subjected from the petty intrigues which divided his own immediate followers, we cannot but

wonder that his spirit was not entirely broken, and that the enterprise was not abandoned by him in its very birth. To his father he writes, on the 16th of January, 1745,—"I own one must have a great stock of patience to bear all the ill-usage I have from the French Court, and the *tracasseries* of our own people. But my patience will never fail in either, there being no other part to take." He clung, indeed, to his early and fond conviction, that he had only to raise his standard in the Highlands to ensure success to his cause, and that all that was wanting besides was a sufficient quantity of arms with which to array the devoted and hardy mountaineers. He writes to his father, on the 7th of March,—"I wish you would pawn all my jewels, for, on *this* side of the water, I should wear them with a very sore heart, thinking that there might be a better use for them; so that, in an urgent necessity, I may have a sum which may be of use to the cause." And again, after saying that he would pawn even his shirt for money,—"It is but for such uses," he writes, "that I shall ever trouble you with requests for money; it will never be for plate or fine clothes, but for arms and ammunition, or other things which tend to what I am come about to this country."

At length the war with France, which had nearly drained England of troops, and more especially the success which had attended the French arms at Fontenoy, fixed the determination of the Prince, and he decided on setting out at once on his hazardous expedition. From one Waters, a banker at Paris, he had obtained a loan of 120,000 livres, with which he pur-

chased twenty small field-pieces, 1800 broad-swords, 1500 fusees, and an adequate quantity of powder, balls, and flints. He also carried with him a sum of money amounting to about four thousand louis d'ors. One Walsh, a merchant of Nantes, agreed to carry him over to Scotland in a fast brig of eighteen guns, called the "Doutelle," which he had fitted out to cruize against the British trade; and, moreover, though in an underhand and indirect manner, the French Government assisted him with the escort of the "Elizabeth," a French ship of war mounting sixty-eight guns, whose ostensible instructions were to cruize on the coast of Scotland, but the captain of which, there can be no doubt, had been furnished with secret orders to assist the Prince in his enterprise, so long as he was enabled to do so without compromising the French Government.

On the 12th of June 1745, twelve days before he embarked for Scotland, the Prince addressed a remarkable letter to his father, a few extracts from which may not be unacceptable to the reader:—

"I believe your Majesty little expected a courier at this time, and much less from me, to tell you a thing that will be a great surprise to you. I have been, above six months ago, invited by our friends to go to Scotland, and to carry what money and arms I could conveniently get; this being, they are fully persuaded, the only way of restoring you to the Crown, and them to their liberties.

"After such scandalous usage as I have received from the French Court, had I not given my word to do so, or got so many encouragements from time to

time as I have had, I should have been obliged, in honour and for my own reputation, to have flung myself into the arms of my friends, and die with them, rather than live longer in such a miserable way here, or be obliged to return to Rome, which would be just giving up all hopes. I cannot but mention a parable here, which is—a horse that is to be sold, if spurred does not skip, or show some sign of life, nobody would come to have him even for nothing; just so my friends would care very little to have me, if after such usage, which all the world is sensible of, I should not show that I have life in me. Your Majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father. You yourself did the like in the year -15; but the circumstances, indeed, are now very different, by being much more encouraging, there being a certainty of succeeding with the least help.

"I have been obliged to steal off, *without letting the King of France so much as* suspect it; for which I make a proper excuse in my letter to him by saying, it was a great mortification to me never to have been able to speak and open my heart to him; that this thing was of such a nature that it could not be communicated by any of the ministers or by writing, but to himself alone, in whom, after God Almighty, my resting lies, and that the least help would make my affair infallible.

"Let what will happen, the stroke is struck, and I have taken a firm resolution to conquer or to die, and stand my ground as long as I shall have a man remaining with me.

"Whatever happens unfortunate to me cannot but

be the strongest engagements to the French Court to pursue your cause. Now, if I were sure they were capable of any sensation of this kind, if I did not succeed, I would perish, as Curtius did, to save my country, and make it happy; it being an indispensable duty on me, as far as it lies in my power. Your Majesty may now see my reason for pressing so much to pawn my jewels, which I should be glad to have done immediately; *for I never intend to come back*, and money, next to troops, will be of the greatest help to me.

"*I should think it proper (if your Majesty pleases) to be put at His Holiness's feet, asking his blessing on this occasion; but what I chiefly ask is, your own, which I hope will procure me that of God Almighty upon my endeavours to serve you, my family, and my country; which will ever be the only view of,*

"Your Majesty's most dutiful son,

"CHARLES P."

These passages are not a little curious, as showing that Charles was the sole author of the expedition, and that it was undertaken entirely without the knowledge of his father. The Prince was at this period residing at the Château de Navarre, a favourite seat of his illustrious ancestor, Henri Quatre, from whence he proceeded to Nantes, which had been fixed upon as the place of embarkation, and where he was to meet the few and faithful followers who were to share with him the dangers of his romantic expedition. According to the interesting narrative of Æneas Macdonald,—"After the Prince had settled everything for

his subsequent undertaking, the gentlemen who were to accompany him in his voyage took different routes to Nantes, the place appointed to meet at, thereby the better to conceal their designs. During their residence there, they lodged in different parts of the town; and if they accidentally met in the street, or elsewhere, they took not the least notice of each other, nor seemed to be any way acquainted, if there was any person near enough to observe them. During this time, and whilst everything was preparing to set sail, the Prince went to a seat of the Duke of Bouillon, and took some days' diversion in hunting, fishing and shooting,—amusements he always delighted in, being at first obliged to it on account of his health. By this means he became inured to toil and labour, which enabled him to undergo the great fatigues and hardships he was afterwards exposed unto."* The individuals whose gallantry and personal devotion prompted them to accompany their young master on his almost desperate expedition, were the Marquis of Tullibardine, who had been attainted for his share in the rebellion of 1715, by which means he had been prevented from inheriting his father's title and estates as Duke of Athol,—Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been the Prince's tutor,—Sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service,—Mr. Kelly,† an English clergyman,—O'Sullivan, an Irish officer in the service of France,—Francis Strickland, an English

* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 1.

† Kelly had been for many years confined to the Tower on suspicion of having been concerned in the famous plot of Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester.

gentleman, and Æneas Macdonald, a banker in Paris, and younger brother of Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart:—"A most extraordinary band of followers," says the Chevalier Johnstone, "when we consider the daring enterprise on which they were entering, which was no less than that of attempting to wrest the Crown of Great Britain from the House of Hanover, that had been so long in possession of it."* Of these persons, O'Sullivan, who had been aide-de-camp to Marshal de Maillebois, is said to have been the only one who had any knowledge of military affairs.

On the 22nd of June, at seven in the evening, the Prince, accompanied by his seven friends, embarked on board the "Doutelle," at St. Nazaire, in the mouth of the Loire.† From hence he sailed to Belle-isle, where he was detained a few days waiting the arrival of the "Elizabeth." To Mr. Edgar, his fa-

* Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746, by the Chevalier de Johnstone, p. 4.

† Hume, the historian, in a letter to Sir John Pringle, brings a curious charge of cowardice against the Prince, on the authority of a conversation which he had with Helvetius. In the words used by Helvetius to Hume,—"'When the Prince went down to Nantes to embark on his expedition to Scotland, he took fright, and refused to go on board; and his attendants, thinking the matter gone too far, and that they would be affronted for his cowardice, carried him in the night-time into the ship, *pieds et mains liés.*' I asked Helvetius," says Hume, "if he meant literally. 'Yes,' said he, 'literally: they tied him, and carried him by main force.'"* This story, it is scarcely necessary to remark, is entirely refuted by the spirited conduct and almost romantic gallantry for which Charles was on all occasions distinguished throughout his subsequent unfortunate career. For a more detailed refutation of this absurd charge, see Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iii. p. 255, and a note to Waverley, vol. ii. p. 272, revised edition.

* Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the 18th century, vol. ix. p. 402.

ther's secretary, he writes from Belleisle on the 12th of July (N.S.);—"After having waited a week here, not without a little anxiety, we have at last got the escort I expected, which is just arrived,—namely, a ship of sixty-eight guns, and seven hundred men aboard. I am, thank God, in perfect health, but have been a little sea-sick, and expect to be more so; but it does not keep me much a-bed, for I find the more I struggle against it the better." The Prince, it seems, kept his rank a profound secret from the crew of the "Doutelle." He had disguised himself, before he embarked, in the habit of a student of the Scots' College, at Paris; and, in order the better to ensure concealment, he allowed his beard to grow till his arrival in Scotland.

On the fourth day after the Prince had sailed from Belleisle, a large ship was descried to windward, which proved to be the "Lion," a British man-of-war of fifty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Brett, who had distinguished himself in Anson's expedition at the storming of Paita. An action took place between this ship and the "Elizabeth," which was maintained with great fury and obstinacy for six hours, and terminated by both vessels suffering so severely in the conflict, that the "Elizabeth" was compelled to put back to France, and the "Lion," with some difficulty, returned to one of her own harbours. The Prince, on board the "Doutelle," watched the result of the action with feelings of the deepest anxiety, and several times expressed an earnest wish that his own little vessel should take a share in the conflict. At length, as the fight grew more protracted, his feelings

of suspense became so painful, and his desire to engage so paramount to every other consideration, that Walsh, the captain of the "Doutelle," was compelled to tell him, that if he did not desist from his importunities, he should be forced to exert the power which he possessed of ordering the Prince to his cabin.* By the return of the "Elizabeth" to France, the Prince had the mortification of being deprived of the greater portion of the arms and military stores which he had provided for the expedition.

The Prince was now compelled to trust his fortunes entirely to the small vessel in which he had embarked with his followers. Every precaution was taken to ensure secrecy: no lights were allowed in the ship, with the exception of a single one for the compass; and even this was so well contrived, that not a ray from it was reflected on the ocean. Only one other adventure occurred to the Prince during the voyage. Two days after her separation from the "Elizabeth," the "Doutelle" was chased, and prepared for action; but at the same time she made all the sail she could, and fortunately escaped her pursuers. As she neared the Hebrides, a large eagle,—an inhabitant of the neighbouring mountains,—was seen to hover over the vessel. The Marquis of Tullibardine pointed it out to the Prince:—"I hope, Sir," he said, "that this is an excellent omen, and promises good things to us; the king of birds is come to welcome your Royal Highness upon your arrival in Scotland."†

* Duncan Cameron's Narrative, Jacobite Memoirs, p. 7. † Ib. p. 9.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival of the young Prince in Scotland.—His Interview with Macdonald of Boisdale.—Its Influence upon him.—Assembly of Chieftains on board the Doutelle.—Landing of the Prince.—Anecdotes of his Landing, by Bishop Forbes.—Holds his Court at Borrodaile.—Interview between the Prince and Cameron of Lochiel.

THE spot on which the young Prince first set foot on the land of his ancestors, was the small island of Erisca, situated between the islands of Barra and South Uist. At this desert place, the Prince, on the 18th of July, 1745, landed with his small band of devoted followers; the Marquis of Tullibardine alone, in consequence of his suffering from a severe fit of the gout, being compelled to remain on board the "Doutelle."

The miserable state of the weather, and the gloomy character of the scenery which surrounded them, were not such as to raise the spirits of the adventurers, already depressed by the loss of the "Elizabeth," with nearly the whole of their military stores. They were met on their landing by a violent storm of wind and rain, which compelled them to seek refuge in a small house, where some wind-bound sailors had already taken shelter. "Here, however," according to the narrative of Æneas Macdonald, "they were all refreshed as well as the place could afford, and they

had some beds, but not sufficient for the whole company; on which account the Prince, being less fatigued than the others, insisted upon such to go to bed as most wanted it. Particularly he took care of Sir Thomas Sheridan, and went to examine his bed, and to see that the sheets were well aired. The landlord, observing him to search the bed so narrowly, and at the same time hearing him declare he would sit up all night, called out to him, and said, that it was so good a bed, and the sheets were so good, that a prince needed not be ashamed to lie in them. The Prince, not being accustomed to such fires in the middle of the room, and there being no other chimney than a hole in the roof, was almost choked, and was obliged to go often to the door for fresh air. This at last made the landlord, Angus Macdonald, call out,—'What a plague is the matter with that fellow, that he can neither sit nor stand still, and neither keep within nor without doors?'"*

The island of Erisca, on which the Prince had taken up his temporary abode, proved to be the property of Macdonald of Clanranald, chief of a powerful branch of the great clan of the Macdonalds; a man who was known to be well inclined to the cause of the Stuarts, but who, in consequence of ill health and the increasing infirmities of age, had resigned the entire management of his affairs to his brother, Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale. In consequence of the paramount influence which Boisdale was known to possess over the mind of his elder brother, the Prince deemed it advisable to address himself to the younger

* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 11.

chieftain in the first instance, with the view to induce him to obtain the consent of Clanranald to the subsequent rising of the clan. Accordingly, ascertaining that both the brothers were residing at the time in the neighbouring island of South Uist, he lost no time in despatching a messenger to Boisdale; who, without hesitation, agreed to wait on the Prince the next morning on board the "Doutelle."

The result of the interview proved far from satisfactory to Charles. Not only did Boisdale refuse to take advantage of any influence which he might possess over his brother's mind, but he added, that he felt it to be an act of duty on his own part to do his utmost to dissuade Clanranald from embarking in the cause. He explained his reasons for believing that it could never be attended with success; he spoke of the projected enterprise as so rash and desperate as almost to amount to an act of insanity; and concluded by urgently and affectionately entreating the Prince to consult his own safety and to return *home*. "I am come *home*," was the reply of Charles, "and I will entertain no notion of returning to the place from whence I came; for I am persuaded that my faithful Highlanders will stand by me."* Boisdale shook his head, and told the Prince he was afraid he would find himself sadly disappointed. Charles, however, continued to urge his former arguments; and, among other persons of influence in the Highlands, mentioned Sir Alexander Macdonald, of Sleat, and the Laird of Macleod, as two chieftains in whose attachment he could confide. But Boisdale again implored him not

* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 12.

to be too sanguine in his hopes, adding that, to his own certain knowledge, these gentlemen would not only be found backward in joining his standard, but that in all probability they would be found taking part with the Government. He even proposed to send off an immediate message to Sir Alexander Macdonald, and to allow the reply of that chieftain to be the test of the truth of what he advanced.

It must be remarked, in justice to Boisdale, that though he firmly adhered to his determination of dissuading his brother from embarking in the enterprise, and was even the means of preventing some hundreds of the hardy inhabitants of South Uist, and of the neighbouring cluster of islands, from joining the standard of the adventurer, yet that he religiously preserved the Prince's secret, and during the subsequent wanderings of the latter among the Western Islands, after the battle of Culloden, used his utmost endeavours to prevent his falling into the hands of his enemies. These facts having come to the knowledge of the Government, he was taken into custody, and together with his brother Clanranald, (who, it was said, had never stirred from his own fire-side during the whole of the rebellion,) were carried to London by sea. It was not till the month of July, 1747, that the brothers received permission to return to Scotland.

Although, in secret, Charles is said to have been deeply affected by the unsatisfactory result of his interview with Boisdale, he never for a moment presented an appearance of dejection or dismay, but, on the contrary, by the cheerfulness of his countenance

and the gaiety of his conversation, he did his utmost to infuse into the minds of his followers the same spirit of gallantry and daring by which he was himself actuated. Immediately after the departure of Boisdale, he gave orders to sail to the main land. The gallant bark entered the Bay of Lochnanuagh, and on the 19th of July cast anchor near the small village of Forsy, between the wild and dreary shores of Moidart and Airsaik. His first step was to dispatch a messenger to the younger Macdonald of Clanranald, of whose chivalrous devotion to his cause he was well assured. The young chief lost not a moment in obeying the summons, and made his appearance on board the "Doutelle," accompanied by Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, the Lairds of Glenaladale and Dalily, and another gentleman of his clan, the latter of whom has bequeathed to us the following interesting account of what immediately occurred.

"Calling," he says, "for the ship's boat, we were immediately carried on board, our hearts bounding at the idea of being at length so near our long-wished-for Prince. We found a large tent erected with poles upon the ship's deck, the interior of which was furnished with a variety of wines and spirits. On entering this pavilion, we were warmly welcomed by the Duke of Athol, to whom most of us had been known in the year 1715. While we were conversing with the Duke, Clanranald was called away to see the Prince; and we were given to understand that we should not probably see his Royal Highness that evening.

"About half an hour after, there entered the tent

a tall youth, of a most agreeable aspect, dressed in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt, a cambric stock fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round wig, a plain hat with a canvas string, one end of which was fixed to one of his coat buttons, black stockings, and brass buckles in his shoes. At the first appearance of this pleasing youth, I felt my heart swell to my throat; but one O'Brien, a churchman, immediately told us that he was only an English clergyman, who had long been possessed with a desire to see and converse with the Highlanders.

"At his entry, O'Brien forbade any of us who were sitting to rise; he saluted some of us, and we only made a low bow at a distance. I chanced to be one of those who were standing when he came in, and he took his seat near me; but he immediately started up again, and desired me to sit down by him upon a chest. Taking him at this time for only a passenger and a clergyman, I presumed to speak to him with perfect familiarity, though I could not suppress a suspicion that he might turn out some greater man. One of the questions which he put to me in the course of conversation regarded my Highland dress: he inquired if I did not feel cold in that habit? to which I answered, that I believed I should only feel cold in any other. At this he laughed heartily; and he next desired to know how I lay with it at night. I replied, that the plaid served me for a blanket when sleeping, and I showed him how I wrapped it about my person for that purpose. At this he remarked, that I must be unprepared for defence in case of a sudden surprise; but I informed him that, during

war or any time of danger, we arranged the garment in such a way as to enable us to start at once to our feet, with a drawn sword in one hand and a cocked pistol in the other. After a little more conversation of this sort, the mysterious youth rose from his seat and called for a dram, when O'Brien whispered to me to pledge the stranger, but not to drink to him, which confirmed me in my suspicions as to his real quality. Having taken a glass of wine in his hand, he drank to us all round, and soon after left the tent." *

Among the chieftains who made their appearance on board the "Doutelle," Clanranald and Kinlochmoidart were the only members of the party who were admitted to the honour of an immediate introduction to the Prince. The conversation naturally turned on the subject most interesting to all present; and, as they paced to and fro along the deck of the vessel, Charles eagerly laid before them all his romantic plans and darling projects, and, under the influence of deep and evident emotion, passionately appealed to the feelings of the young and enthusiastic chieftains, and exerted every argument to induce them to declare themselves openly in his cause. To his disappointment, however, he was doomed to encounter the same cold and unpalatable arguments, suggested by reason and expediency, which had recently been urged by Boisdale. In vain he argued, entreated, and implored. Alas! if such was the language which he was destined to hear from the younger and more chivalrous leaders of the Highland clans,

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. pp. 479 and 480.

and from those most devoted to his cause, what must he expect from those whose feelings were more lukewarm, and who were far more calculating in their views! The present, in fact, was one of those critical moments in the destiny of Charles,—which subsequently more than once occurred to him during his romantic expedition in Scotland,—on the result of which depended, in a great degree, either the utter annihilation of his ambitious hopes, or the probable chances of ultimate success.

On the present occasion chance, in a remarkable manner, favoured his designs. While he continued to pace the deck with his companions, whose manner and gestures are described as no less animated than his own, they occasionally passed a young Highlander, a brother of Kinlochmoidart, who had accidentally come on an idle visit to the ship in search of news, without knowing who was on board, and who, as was then the custom of the country, was armed at all points.

Gradually ascertaining, from portions of the conversation which he was enabled to overhear, that he was in the presence of the son of his legitimate Sovereign, whom he had been taught to idolize from his earliest years, his feelings became painfully excited; and when by degrees he caught the fact, that his brother was in the act of coldly declining to arm on the side of so righteous a cause and so gallant a Prince, his sorrow and indignation were forcibly portrayed in every movement of his body, and in every feature of his face. The excited state of the young Highlander could scarcely fail to attract the

notice of Charles. Suddenly turning towards him, he exclaimed, in a tone of deep and kindred emotion, "Will *you* not assist me?"—"I will, I will!" was the enthusiastic reply. Charles is said to have been affected by the incident even to tears, and, after thanking him for the proof which he had given of his warm-hearted devotion, expressed a mournful wish, couched in half-reproachful language, that all the other Highlanders were like him. Clanranald and Kinlochmoidart, partly, it may be, affected by the rebuke of the Prince, and partly perhaps imbibing the enthusiasm of the moment, no longer offered any opposition to the Prince's wishes, and even warmly expressed their eagerness at once to embark their lives and fortunes in his cause.

There were two chieftains of great power and influence in the Western Highlands, who were known to be secretly prepossessed in favour of the claims of the Stuarts, and whom Charles was extremely anxious to induce to declare openly in his favour. These persons were Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, and the Laird of Macleod, who could severally have brought from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred men into the field. Fortunately, however, for their own interests, they were both absent at this period in the Isle of Skye, and consequently removed from the fascination of Charles's eloquence, and the dangerous charm of his personal address.

To these powerful chieftains Charles, shortly after his arrival on the coast, had despatched as his emissaries the younger Clanranald and Allan Macdonald, a third brother of Kinlochmoidart. Their mission,

however, was attended with but indifferent success, the two chieftains having severally come to the fixed determination of taking up a neutral position during the insurrection, or at all events of watching quietly the tide of events; and neither arguments nor promises could shake them in their resolves. They laid great stress on the circumstance of their followers being widely scattered over the numerous and distant islands of the Hebrides, and the difficulty and danger which must attend a gathering of their clans. It was true, they admitted, that they had previously pledged themselves to join the standard of the Prince, in the event of his landing in the Highlands; but the fulfilment of that promise, they said, was altogether contingent on his being supported by foreign auxiliaries and supplies. Finally, they insisted, that without organised forces, without credit, and unaided by officers of talent and experience, the expedition must prove fatal to all who were rash enough to embark in it.

Both of these powerful chieftains were, in fact, among the mere time-servers of the day, who, while their hearts secretly yearned to follow the fortunes of the adventurer, and while they would willingly have persuaded him that nothing but circumstances of extreme exigency could have withheld them from joining his standard, yet at the same time maintained a clandestine correspondence with the Government of the day, and seized every opportunity of unblushingly professing their attachment and allegiance to the reigning Sovereign. It is curious, indeed, to be admitted into the secret history of their double trea-

son: for instance, Macleod, though no one could be better aware that the object of the younger Clanranald's visit to the Isle of Skye was to stir up himself and others to rebellion, yet in one of his letters to the Government he thus falsely conceals the fact:—"Young Clanranald has been here with us, and has given us all possible assurance of his prudence." Indeed, it is not till eight days afterwards, on the 11th of August, that Sir Alexander Macdonald communicates to the Government that "Young Clanranald is deluded, notwithstanding his assurances to us lately."* Again, though Macleod must have been fully aware that the storm of rebellion was about to burst, in his letters to the Government he thus endeavours to lull them into a sense of false security:—"Sir Alexander Macdonald and I not only gave no sort of countenance to these people, but we used all the interest we had with our neighbours to follow the same prudent method; and I am persuaded we have done it with that success, that not one man of any consequence beneath the Grampians will give any sort of assistance to this mad rebellious attempt." As another instance of Macleod's perfidy, may be mentioned his Jesuitical attempt to dissuade the Government from sending any military reinforcement to Scotland. "In my opinion," he says, "it would be a very wrong step to draw many of the troops to Scotland, as there can be but little danger here."† It is a fact, proved by their own letters, that both Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod communicated to the Government the fact of Charles having arrived

* Culloden Papers, pp. 204, 207. † Ibid., pp. 204, 208.

in the Highlands; but it is also a fact, that they delayed transmitting the intelligence till *nine* days after his landing.

Whatever may have been the feelings of Charles on learning the defection of two such influential chieftains as Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod, he at least discovered no despondency in his communications with others; and, indeed, his social cheerfulness, his vigour of mind, and chivalrous yearning for enterprise, shone the more conspicuous as the difficulties of his situation increased. When, among other Highland gentlemen, Hugh Macdonald, a younger brother of the Laird of Morar, endeavoured to impress him with a serious sense of the dangers which awaited him, and earnestly and affectionately implored him to make good his retreat to France, "No," he said, "he did not choose to owe his restoration to foreigners, but to his own friends, to whom he was now come to put it into their power to have the glory of that event; and, as to returning to France, foreigners should never have it to say that he had thrown himself upon his friends—that they turned their backs upon him—and that he had been forced to return from them to foreign parts. In a word, if he could but get six trusty men to join him, *he would choose far rather to skulk with them among the mountains of Scotland than to return to France.*"

On the 25th of July, Charles, for the first time, set his foot on the mainland of Scotland. The spot which witnessed his memorable landing was a small farm called Borrodaile, belonging to Clanranald, si-

tuated in a mountainous and inaccessible district of Invernesshire, and in the heart of the territories of the Stuarts and Macdonalds, who were known to be devotedly attached to the cause of the Stuarts, and whose fathers had so often fought the battle of royalty beneath the banners of the illustrious Montrose. He was accompanied to the shore by the seven gallant gentlemen,—the "Seven men of Moidart," as they were afterwards styled by the Jacobites,—who had followed his fortunes from France, and whose feelings of triumphant joy may be readily imagined, when they thus witnessed the partial realization of those vain but brilliant hopes which they had fostered in the gay *salons* of Paris, and afterwards in the dingy *cafés* of Nantes and St. Nazaire, and, when kneeling on the wild shores of the Western Highlands, they congratulated their young master on the accomplishment of this first passage in his extraordinary career.

Bishop Forbes, in a "Narrative of a Conversation with a Mr. Hugh Macdonald, brother to the Laird of Morar," which took place at Leith on the 15th of June, 1750, relates some curious particulars respecting the Prince's landing. "Mr. Macdonald," he says, "told me that when the Prince came first upon the coast of Scotland he himself was in Edinburgh, and that, in returning to the Highlands, he happened to meet with Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, crossing the water of Locky, who asked him, 'What news?'—'No news at all have I,' said Mr. Hugh. 'Then,' said Kinlochmoidart, 'I'll give you news: you'll see the Prince this night at my house.'—

'What prince do you mean?' said Mr. Hugh. 'Prince Charles,' said Kinlochmoidart. 'You are certainly joking,' said Mr. Hugh; 'I cannot believe you.' Upon this, Kinlochmoidart assured him of the truth of it. 'Then,' said Mr. Hugh, 'what number of men has he brought along with him?'—'Only seven,' said Kinlochmoidart. 'What stock of money and arms has he brought with him then?' said Mr. Hugh. 'None at all,' replied Kinlochmoidart. Mr. Hugh said he did not like the expedition at all, and was afraid of the consequences. 'I cannot help it,' said Kinlochmoidart; 'if the matter go wrong, I'll certainly be hanged, for I am engaged already. I have no time to spare just now, as I am going with a message from the Prince to the Duke of Perth.' They then took leave and parted."*

As soon as the fact of the Prince having landed at Borrodaile became known to the Highland gentlemen in the neighbourhood, they met to consult as to the measures which it was most expedient for them to adopt under existing circumstances. Duncan Cameron, alluding to this meeting, observes in his narrative,—"I have heard it affirmed by good authority, that Keppoch honestly and bravely gave it as his opinion, that since the Prince had risked his person, and generously thrown himself into the hands of his friends, therefore it was their duty to raise their men instantly, merely for the protection of his person, let the consequence be what it would. Certain it is, that if Keppoch, Lochiel, young Clanranald, &c., had not joined him, he would either have fallen

* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 18, note.

into the hands of his enemies, or been forced immediately to cross the seas again.*

Charles, immediately on his landing, was conducted to the farm-house of Borrodaile, where, during several days, he continued to hold his small but warlike and animated court. A guard of honour, consisting of a hundred Highlanders, was formed for the protection of his person from among the gentlemen of Clanranald's clan; there the gay colours of the tartan were alone seen; and thither flocked, day after day, the most devoted hearts that perhaps had ever warmed for the cause of an outcast and unfortunate Prince. During a period of each day he mingled with his followers in a large apartment at Borrodaile, whither the hardy inhabitants of the neighbouring valleys came in numbers to see him, and where, "without distinction to age or sex," they were freely admitted to feast their eyes with the sight of their beloved and legitimate Prince. Charles, to the delight of the Highlanders, wore their national costume.

"Oh! better loved he canna be;
Yet, when we see him wearing
Our Highland garb sae gracefully,
'Tis aye the mair endearing.
Though a' that now adorns his brow
Be but a simple bonnet;
Ere lang we 'll see of kingdoms three
The royal crown upon it"†

It is recorded of Charles, that, on the first day on which he sat down to dinner with his new friends in the hall at Borrodaile, being called upon to drink

* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 17. † Jacobite Song.

the usual "grace-drink," he repeated the necessary words in the English language. Shortly afterwards, a Highland gentleman rose from his seat, and proposed the health of *the King*,—"*Deoch slaint au Righ*,"—in Gaelic. The toast was hailed with extraordinary enthusiasm. Charles, ignorant of the language in which it was pronounced, and surprised at the sensation which it created, desired to have the words iterated to him till he learnt them by heart. He then rose, and, to the delight of the Highlanders, repeated the toast in their own language. After this, the healths of the Prince himself and of his brother Henry were proposed in Gaelic, and drunk rapturously; and the company separated, the Highlanders delighted with the winning and affable manners of their young Prince, and the interest which he took in their language and customs, and Charles, perhaps, no less gratified at the success which had attended this his first attempt to engage the feelings of so noble and so affectionate a people.

It was at Borrodaile that the first and memorable interview took place between Charles and the high-minded and chivalrous Donald Cameron of Lochiel. This celebrated man was at this period in the prime of life, and proverbially the most respected and beloved among the Highland chieftains. To Lochiel, moreover, and to his family, the House of Stuart were deeply indebted. During half a century, Sir Evan Cameron, the grandfather of Lochiel, had fought in the cause of the exiled family by the side of both Montrose and Dundee; and even now, the father of the chieftain, having been attainted for his share in

the Rebellion of 1715, was wearing out a life of exile in France.

Notwithstanding the enthusiasm of Lochiel's character, and his devoted attachment to the House of Stuart, his family and his clan had already suffered too deeply by the generous sacrifices which they had made to their principles, not to make him pause and deliberate before he again embarked headlong in a cause which had already proved so disastrous and almost fatal to his race. Like the majority of the Highland chieftains, he seems, in the first instance, to have judged correctly of what was likely to be the result of their taking up arms against the Government. To his friends he expressed himself satisfied that the expedition—unaided as it was by foreign powers, and unsupported by money or credit,—must inevitably terminate in the ruin of all who were rash enough to engage in it; and so satisfied was he of the rashness of the undertaking, that when he received a letter from Charles, acquainting him of his arrival in the Highlands, and urging him to repair to him immediately, his sole object seems to have been to impress the Prince with a due sense of the dangers which awaited him, and of the utter impossibility of the enterprise being crowned with success. With this object in view, he determined on waiting on the Prince in person, and to make use of his personal influence with the young adventurer to make good his retreat into France while circumstances still favoured his escape.

On his road to Borrodaile, the chieftain stopped to pay a passing visit to his brother, Cameron of

Fassefern. The younger brother, but too well aware of the ardent temperament of Lochiel's character, strongly urged him on no account to expose himself to the fascinations of a personal interview with the young Prince, but by all means to communicate his arguments by letter. "I know you," said Fassefern, "better than you know yourself. If this Prince once sets his eyes on you, he will make you do whatever he pleases."* Lochiel, however, persisted in his original intention of waiting on the Prince in person; and the result of their interview was exactly such as had been anticipated by Fassefern. For a considerable time, indeed, Lochiel stood firm against the entreaties and arguments of Charles, till the latter, in a moment of great excitement, and by the exercise of that happy combination of language and manner, that irresistible appeal to the generous feelings of his listeners, which had already scattered to the winds the predetermined cautiousness and circumspection of more than one of his present followers, at length decided the fate of Lochiel. "In a few days," he said, "with the few friends I have, I will raise the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors—to win it, or to perish in the attempt. Lochiel, who my father has often told me was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his Prince."—"No," said Lochiel, who caught the enthusiasm of the mo-

* "Fassefern," says Home, "in the year 1781, repeated this conversation between him and his brother to the author of this history."—*History of the Rebellion of* 1745, p. 44, note.

ment, "I will share the fate of my Prince, and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me any power!"

On the result of this important conference depended, according to Home, the great question of peace or war; for, had Lochiel remained firm in his determination to resist the Prince's eloquence, it was the general opinion in the Highlands that no other chieftain would have joined the standard of the adventurer, and that the spark of rebellion must inevitably have been extinguished in the North.* Lochiel, it may be added, returned to his own house at Auchnacarrie, whence he despatched messengers to the subordinate chieftains of his clan, desiring them to hold their followers in immediate readiness to join the standard of the Prince.

On the 11th of August, Charles, having disembarked his small stock of treasure and arms from the "Doutelle," proceeded by sea to the mansion of Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, about seven miles from Borrodaile. Previous to his departure, he took an affectionate leave of the faithful captain of the "Doutelle," at the same time presenting him with a letter to his father at Rome, in which he prayed him to reward the valuable services of Walsh with an Irish Earldom. "*C'est la première grace,*" he writes to his father; "*que je vous demande depuis mon arrivée dans ce pays; j'espère bien que ce ne sera pas la dernière,—mais, en tout cas, je vous supplie de me l'accorder.*" There is reason to believe that the honour was actually conferred. "I was formerly

* Home's History of the Rebellion, p. 44.

acquainted at Baden," says Lord Mahon, "with Count Walsh, who was, as I understood, the descendant and representative of this gentleman."*

Through the same channel, the young Prince despatched another and very interesting letter to his father, in which he communicated the fact of his having effected his landing in Scotland, and expressed his readiness, should the worst happen, to perish at the head of the brave men who had hastened to his succour. "I am, thank God!" he writes, "arrived here in perfect good health, but not with little trouble and danger, as you will hear by the bearer, who has been with me all along, that makes it useless for me to give any accounts and particulars on that head. I am joined here by brave people, as I expected. As I have not yet set up the standard, I cannot tell the number, but that will be in a few days, as soon as the arms are distributed; at which we are working with all speed. I have not as yet got the return of the message sent to the Lowlands, but expect it very soon. If they all join — or, at least, all those to whom I have sent commissions — at request, everything will go on to a wish. . . . The worst that can happen to me," adds the gallant Prince, "if France does not succour me, is to die at the head of such brave people as I find here, if I should not be able to make my way; and that I have promised to them, as you know to have been my resolution before parting. The French Court must now necessarily take off the mask, or have an eternal shame on them; for at present there is no medium, and we, whatever

* History of England, vol. iii. p. 316.

happens, shall gain an immortal honour by doing what we can to deliver our country, in restoring our master, or perish with sword in hand. Your Majesty may easily conceive the anxiety I am in to hear from you. Having nothing more particular at present to add, (not being able to keep the ship longer, for fear of men-of-war stopping her passage entirely,) I shall end, laying myself with all respect at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking a blessing.

"Your most dutiful son,

"CHARLES P." *

During his stay at Kinlochmoidart, Charles was joined by a valuable coadjutor, Murray of Broughton, who had recently performed the dangerous task of having the Prince's manifestos printed for future distribution, and who subsequently figured in so conspicuous a manner as the secretary of Charles during the course of the rebellion. From Kinlochmoidart, the adventurer, on the 18th, passed by water to Glenaladale, the seat of another chieftain of the Macdonalds. On the evening of his arrival, he was joined by a veteran partizan of the House of Stuart, Gordon of Glenbucket, who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1715. On the following day, Charles proceeded by water to the eastern extremity of Loch Shiel.

* Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iii. p. xxii. Appendix.

CHAPTER III.

Skirmishes between Captain Scott's Detachment and the Rebels.—Surrender of the King's Troops.—Lochiel's Treatment of Captain Scott.—The Pretender's Reception.—Character of his Troops.—Site chosen for "Raising the Standard."—The Pretender's Behaviour to his Prisoners.

DURING the period that these events were in progress, some vague rumours had reached the ears of the Governor of Fort Augustus of the warlike preparations which were being made in the Western Highlands. Anxious to overawe the rebellious clans, he determined on despatching two new-raised companies of the Scots Royal to Fort William, a fortress situated about forty miles from Kinlochmoidart. This small detachment, which was altogether inefficient to perform the service required of them, was placed under the command of a Captain Scott. Their road lay along the romantic banks of Loch Lochy and Loch Eil; the high and misty mountains rising above them, and the long narrow lakes extending in quiet beauty below. The soldiers had proceeded without interruption to within eight miles of their destination, when, in passing the contracted ravine of High Bridge, which over-arches a mountain torrent, their ears were suddenly startled by the thrilling and now hostile notes of the bagpipe. Almost at the same moment

they found themselves exposed to a galling fire from the heights above; their assailants being a party of the neighbouring clan of Macdonald of Keppoch, headed by Macdonald of Tiendrish.

Thus did a small body of Highlanders,—in a moment of sudden enthusiasm, and unauthorized by Charles or his advisers,—deal the first blow, and strike the first spark of the great rebellion of 1745, which was subsequently destined to be extinguished only by the blood of so many brave and high-minded men on the scaffold and the battle-field. It was no disgrace to the soldiers of King George that they betook themselves to flight. Ignorant of the numbers of their invisible assailants,—which afterwards proved to be sufficiently insignificant,—and unaccustomed to so novel a mode of warfare, they had no option but retreat. Retracing their steps in the direction of Fort Augustus, (their enemies being too few in numbers to admit of their pursuing them,) they had returned as far as the eastern extremity of Loch Lochy, when they were encountered by another and far more formidable body of Highlanders, under the command of Macdonald of Keppoch. Resistance was out of the question; and accordingly the royalists, overawed by numbers, and fatigued and disheartened by a long march of thirty miles, were compelled to submit to an unconditional surrender. Almost at the same moment, Lochiel came up with a body of Camerons, and took the party under his charge. Five or six of the royalists were found to have been killed, and about as many wounded; among the latter of whom was Captain Scott, the leader of the party,

whom Lochiel kindly ordered to be carried to his own house at Auchnacarrie, where he treated him with the greatest humanity. The Governor of Fort Augustus, it seems, on being made acquainted with the condition of Captain Scott, refused to allow any military surgeon to attend him. Lochiel, however, was more generous. Anxious to afford his prisoner the advantage of medical experience and advice, he released him from captivity on his parole, and sent him back to his friends, with his best wishes for his recovery.

This affair took place on the 16th of August, two days before Charles quitted Kinlochmoidart for Glenaladale, and only three days previous to the raising of the standard at Glenfinnan. Though insignificant as a military exploit, it had, nevertheless, the effect of raising the spirits of the Highlanders; and when they poured forth from their mountain homes to assemble at the great meeting-place at Glenfinnan, it was with hearts beating high with confidence, and with the promise of action and of exploit.

The memorable ceremony of "raising the standard," accompanied by the gathering of the clans, took place on the 19th of August, in the Vale of Glenfinnan, situated about forty miles south-west of Fort Augustus. The spot was a romantic and desolate one, being a narrow and sequestered valley, overhung on each side by high and craggy mountains, between which the small river Finnan pursued its quiet course towards the sea. To this spot Charles, having disembarked at the further extremity of Loch Shiel, proceeded under the escort of two companies of the

Macdonalds. He had anticipated, it is said, beholding the valley alive with armed men, and with floating tartans; but, when he entered the desolate ravine, it extended before him in its accustomed stillness and solitude, and, for the first time since he had quitted France, the Adventurer appears to have felt himself thoroughly dispirited and forlorn.

Having entered one of the rude huts of the friendly inhabitants of the valley, the Prince was condemned to endure two long hours of feverish suspense. At length, however, the scene changed. Suddenly the thrilling sounds of the pibroch were heard in the distance, and presently a body of seven hundred Highlanders were seen rapidly descending the mountain-paths. As the latter caught a glimpse of the Prince and his followers, the air resounded with their enthusiastic shouts, and louder and more joyous rose the heart-stirring notes of their national music. Well, indeed, might Charles have been proud of the band of few, but daring and devoted, followers by whom he was now surrounded; and grateful also might he well be for their ardent and disinterested attachment. He had come among them an exiled and a proscribed man; and he who, but a short time since, had been doomed to encounter but the cold looks and unmeaning professions of lukewarm friends and calculating politicians in the glittering saloons of Paris, now found himself enabled, as if by the wand of the magician, to people the wild valleys of the north with spirits as brave and devoted as ever fought on behalf of the wildest dreams of freedom, or in the cause of legitimate right.

Much of the success which had already attended the progress of Charles was unquestionably owing to his own efforts and dexterity—to the fascination of his manner, his persuasive eloquence, and to the charm of his personal address. With a deep-sighted policy,—which could scarcely have been anticipated either from his years, or from the bigoted school in which he had been nurtured,—he had contrived to insinuate himself into the affections of the Highlanders by adopting their costume, taking an interest in their manners and customs, identifying himself with their feelings and prejudices, and endeavouring to make himself master of their national language. But while allowing full credit to Charles for the talent which he discovered in playing the difficult game entrusted to him, we must not omit to do justice to the devoted affection and disinterested loyalty of the many gallant men who were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in his cause. Perhaps, indeed, in no country, and in no age,—not excepting even the glorious struggles for freedom which have rendered illustrious the wild fastnesses of the Tyrol, nor the contests on behalf of legitimate right which inflamed the inhabitants of La Vendée,—was there ever exhibited such romantic devotedness, such a thorough abandonment of all selfish views and interests, as that which prompted the rising of the hardy Highlanders of 1745, in the cause of the exiled and unfortunate Stuarts.

That, among the Highland chieftains, there were a few individuals who joined the standard of the Stuarts solely from motives of self-interest, and who

played the desperate game of throwing for a coronet or a coffin, there unfortunately can be but little question. But such were far from being the motives which actuated the majority of those unfortunate gentlemen who now hastened to join the standard of Charles Edward. Generally speaking, this gallant body was comprised of individuals whose feelings of pure and devotional loyalty partook but too closely of the character of romance; who generously discarded every dictate prompted by self-interest in supporting what they sincerely believed to be the cause of religion and of right; who conscientiously regarded the reigning sovereign in the light of an alien and a usurper; and who hastened, as to a bridal, to greet the young representative of their ancient and legitimate kings. "The Scots," says Lord Mahon, "have often been reproached with a spirit of sordid gain. The truth is merely,—and should it not be a matter of praise?—that by their intelligence, their industry, their superior education, they will always, in whatever country, be singled out for employment, and rise high in the social scale. But when a contest lies between selfish security or advancement on one side, and generous impulse or deep-rooted conviction on the other; when danger and conscience beckon onward, and prudence alone calls back; let all history declare, whether in any age or in any cause, as followers of Knox or of Montrose, as Cameronians or as Jacobites, the men, — ay, and the women, — of Scotland, have quailed from any degree of sacrifice or suffering! The very fact that Charles came helpless, obtained him the help of many. They believed him their rightful Prince;

and the more destitute that Prince, the more they were bound in loyalty to aid him. Foreign forces, which would have diminished the danger, would also have diminished the duty, and placed him in the light of a hostile invader, rather than of a native Sovereign. Moreover, Charles was now in the very centre of those tribes which, ever since they were trained by Montrose,—such is the stamp that great spirits can imprint upon posterity!—had continued firm and devoted adherents of the House of Stuart."*

True it is, at this distance of time, that we may well congratulate ourselves that the reigning dynasty was not destroyed, and that the doubtful experiment of restoring the legitimate line, and trusting anew to the tender mercies of the ill-advised and ill-fated Stuarts, was not carried into effect. But not the less are we to award merit where it is due. Not the less should we admire the affectionate devotion of those brave men, whose zeal, though it was mistaken, was not the less admirable; who, it must be remembered, acknowledged not the supremacy of the German sovereigns of England; and who now came forward to hazard their lives and fortunes in a cause which they religiously believed to be that of duty, of legitimacy, and of right.

The site which was fixed upon for the "raising of the standard" was a small mound in the centre of the sequestered valley of Glenfinnan, where a monument, bearing on it a Latin inscription, still points out the memorable spot. The banner,—which was of red silk, with a white space in the centre, on

* Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iii. p. 314.

which was inscribed the famous motto, "*Tandem Triumphans*, — was unfurled with great ceremony by the Marquis of Tullibardine,—

"High-minded Moray,—the exiled,—the dear!"

who was at this period labouring under the tortures of disease and the infirmities of age; but whose heart continued to beat as warmly as ever in the cause which had been the passion of his youth, and for which he had already lost a dukedom, with all its accompanying advantages of station and of wealth.

As the banner unfolded itself to the mountain-breeze, the air resounded with the shouts of the elated Highlanders; and, in the words of a by-stander, the bonnets which were thrown joyously aloft almost overclouded the sky. When the noisy and tumultuous enthusiasm of the clans had a little subsided, Tullibardine, supported on account of his infirmities by a Highlander on each side of him, read aloud the manifesto of the old Chevalier, in which he denounced the claims of the German usurper; exhorted his loyal subjects to join the standard of their legitimate sovereign; and finally set forth the grievances which had befallen Great Britain under the new dynasty, and expressed his determination to redress them by every means in his power, and at the same time to respect all existing institutions, rights, and privileges whatever. This document was dated at Rome, December 23, 1743, and was signed James the Eighth. Another paper was then read aloud, in which James granted a commission of regency to his son. As soon as the reading of this paper was

concluded, Charles presented himself to the admiring Highlanders, and, in a brief but animated speech, spoke of the satisfaction which he felt on finding himself among the loyal and gallant gentlemen who now surrounded him. He had come among them, he said, because he was satisfied they were prepared to live or die with him; and for his part, he added, he was resolved to conquer or to perish at their head. Having concluded his brief oration, the standard, guarded by a body of fifty Camerons, was formally carried back to the Prince's quarters.

Such is a brief description of the famous ceremony of the raising of the standard in the valley of Glenfinnan; a ceremony which,—when we call to mind the wild scenes amidst which the drama was enacted; the picturesque garb and remarkable character of those who took their part in it; as well as the eventful circumstances and chivalrous exploits to which it was the immediate prelude,—partakes rather of the character of a romantic tale, than of a dry episode in the pages of real history. The scene has been well described in glowing verse by the greatest modern master of fiction and of song:—

> The dark hours of night and of slumber are past,
> And morn on our mountains is dawning at last;
> Glenaladale's peaks are illumed with the rays,
> And the streams of Glenfinnan leap bright in the blaze.
>
> O high-minded Moray!—the exiled—the dear!—
> In the blush of the dawning the STANDARD uprear!
> Wide, wide on the winds of the North let it fly,
> Like the sun's latest flash when the tempest is nigh.
>
> Ye sons of the strong, when that dawning shall break,
> Need the harp of the aged remind you to wake?

That dawn never beamed on your forefathers' eye,
But it roused each high chieftain to vanquish or die.

O sprung from the kings who in Islay kept state,
Proud chiefs of Clanranald, Glengary, and Sleat!
Combine with three streams from one mountain of snow,
And resistless in union rush down on the foe!

True son of St. Evan, undaunted Lochiel,
Place thy targe on thy shoulder, and burnish thy steel!
Rough Keppoch, give breath to thy bugle's bold swell,
Till, far Coryarrack resound to the knell!

Stern son of Lord Kenneth, high chief of Kintail,
Let the stag in thy standard bound wild in the gale!
May the race of Clan-Gillian, the fearless and free,
Remember Glenlivat, Harlaw, and Dundee!

Let the clan of grey Fingon, whose offspring has given
Such heroes to earth, and such martyrs to heaven,
Unite with the race of renowned Rorri More,
To launch the long galley, and stretch to the oar!

How Mac-Shiemie will joy when their chief shall display
The yew-crested bonnet o'er tresses of grey!
How the race of wronged Alpine, and murdered Glencoe,
Shall shout for revenge when they pour on the foe!

Ye sons of brown Dermid who slew the wild boar,
Resume the pure faith of the great Callum-More!
Mac-Niel of the Islands, and Moy of the Lake,
For honour, for freedom, for vengeance awake!

Awake on your hills, on your islands awake,
Brave sons of the mountain, the frith, and the lake!
'Tis the bugle,—but not for the chase is the call;
'Tis the pibroch's shrill summons,—but not to the hall!

'Tis the summons of heroes for conquest or death,
When the banners are blazing on mountain and heath;
They call to the dirk, the claymore, and the targe,
To the march and the muster, the line and the charge.

To the brand of each chieftain, like Fin's in his ire,
May the blood through his veins flow like currents of fire!

Burst the base foreign yoke as your sires did of yore,
Or die like your sires, and endure it no more!*

It may be mentioned, that among those who were spectators of the ceremony of the raising of the standard, was an officer of the royal army, Captain Sweetenham, who had recently been taken prisoner while on his way to take the command of Fort William. Shortly after the ceremony was at an end, he was summoned to the presence of Charles, who had already treated him with great courtesy. "You may go back to your general," he said: "tell him what you have seen, and say that I am coming to give him battle."

It seems to have been from the mouth of Captain Sweetenham himself, who arrived among his military friends at Ruthven five days after the raising of the standard, that the intelligence contained in the following letter was derived:—

"Ruthven, in Badnock, August 25th, 1745.

"DEAR SIR,

"I should have sent some Scottish occurrences before now, but waited to send you matter of fact. Last night Captain Sweetenham came to this barrack, who was a prisoner eight days in the pretended Prince Charles Regent's camp, as he styles himself. The Captain was taken about a fortnight ago, going from this place to Fort William, to command three companies of the regiment which is in garrison there. He is released upon his parole of honour, through the intercession of some Irish gentlemen who are

* Flora Macivor's Song. Waverley.

along with the Prince, and came from France with him; particularly one Colonel O'Sullivan, and Colonel Kelly. The Captain has a passport signed by the Prince: he is not to act against the enemy, and is to return when required. I have read the passport. The day after the Captain was made prisoner, there were two companies of the Royal Scots and a sergeant and twelve men of Guise's taken, and are now prisoners in the Prince's camp; they were going to reinforce Fort William. I shall not trouble you with the particular distance of places, which I shall, in the title of the rebellious clans, relate, but refer you to the map of Scotland; but it shall suffice that this barrack is not much above twenty-six miles distance (the near way) either from Fort William, Fort Augustus, or Fort George, where our regiment is at present in garrison; and not much farther from the enemy's camp, from whom we expect a visit hourly.

"The Prince landed in the north-west islands above a month ago, in a small vessel carrying eighteen guns. He was separated from a French man-of-war, who was to conduct him with a number of men on board; but fell in with the "Lion" man-of-war, as you had it word for word in the public papers, which gave his ship opportunity to make off. At his first landing, the Highlanders refused joining him, and told him it was madness to attempt it, and would have him go off; but the Prince made answer, that he was often these three years invited by them and by others in England and Ireland; and that he would not return until he had gained his point, or lost his life in the attempt,—and be no longer a beg-

gar in France, or in any other court; which answer prevailed upon the Highlanders to join him.

"Last Monday the Prince's standard was set up, and carried by the old Duke of Athol, a man above seventy years old. Such loud huzzas and schiming of bonnets up into the air, appearing like a cloud, was not heard of for a long time. Last Thursday they drew up in their order, and the Prince reviewed them to the number of 1500, which was the day the Captain left them. No gentleman could be better used than he was when he got among the gentlemen; neither was there anything that was taken from him but what was returned, except his horse's saddle and sword; and the Prince had ordered a pair of horses to be given him in lieu of his own; but that was neglected. General Cope is within two days' march of this place, with four regiments of foot and two of dragoons, with some artillery, in order to meet the enemy; and the enemy is preparing to meet him, and threatens high. The Lord only knows how it will end! The enemy has neither foreign troops nor artillery, but about eighteen pattareroes of one pound each. They told the Captain that they will be in England in a very little time, where they are sure to meet with friends enough. There is none of those we call loyalists here has joined us yet; they say they have no arms. God send they may prove loyal! I have been called upon several times since I begun to write this scrawl by false alarms. This redoubt has no fortification nor defence, but a shallow wall and our small arms; which hurry, I hope, will make excuse for the imperfection of this letter.

"I recommend you and your family to God's care; and I make no doubt of your accustomed goodness towards my people. I thank God I enjoy good health, and am in good heart. There is no way of sending my wife relief of money as yet. I have lost most of my things at Aberdeen. My sincere respects to your fire-side. Dear sir, be pleased to make my compliments to Mr. and Mrs. D'Anvers, to Alderman Rogers and Mrs. Rogers, to Alderman Revins; and be pleased to accept of the like from your most sincere humble servant,

"TER. MULLOY."*

It may be mentioned, that the consideration and courtesy with which Charles treated the English prisoners which fell into his hands, obtained for him, even from his enemies, the credit which he deserved. We have seen the evidence borne by Captain Sweetenham to the kind treatment which he met with from the Prince; and, about the same time, Thomas Fraser of Gortuleg writes to Lord Lovat:—"I have seen Captain Thomson, Lieutenants Ferguson and Rose, and five sergeants and two or three men of the companies taken prisoners last week. They talk a good deal of the civilities they met with from the young Pretender; they were liberated upon their parole of honour, to return when summoned thereto. They are discharged from touching at any fort or garrison, or conversing with any officers belonging to the enemy, as they call them, until they are at Edinburgh; and while here they religiously observed their

* Culloden Papers, p. 386.

engagement; for they would not go near the Fort, or converse with any of the officers in it."*

It was about two hours after the raising of the standard, that Charles had the satisfaction of seeing his small army enforced by Macdonald of Keppoch, with about three hundred of his clan. Several of the Macleods also joined him the same night, who expressed the warmest indignation at the defection of their chief, and even proposed to return to the Isle of Skye with the view of enlisting their fellow-clansmen in the Prince's cause. The army, which now amounted to eleven hundred men, encamped the same night at Glenfinnan; O'Sullivan, an Irish officer, who had recently joined the Prince, being appointed its Quarter-Master General. The following morning, Charles marched at the head of his forces into the country of Lochiel, and took up his residence in the house of that chieftain at Auchnacarrie. At this place he was joined by Macdonald of Glencoe, with a hundred and fifty followers; by the Stuarts of Appin, under Ardshiel, with two hundred; and by Glengary the younger, with about the same number of men.

Although Edinburgh is distant only one hundred and fifty miles from the spot where Charles first set foot in the Western Highlands, it is a remarkable fact,—such was the fidelity of those to whom he entrusted himself,—that as many as sixteen days elapsed from the day of his landing, and nearly three weeks from the period when he opened his communication with the Highland chieftains at Erisca, before the authorities in the Scottish capital received tidings

* Culloden Papers, p. 387.

of the Adventurer having arrived on their shores. The ignorance and security in which these functionaries had lulled themselves,—including even the acute and clear-sighted Duncan Forbes, the Lord President,*—almost surpasses belief. As late as the 2nd of August, eight days after Charles had landed at Borrodaile, we find the Lord President, in a letter to Mr. Pelham, expressing himself not only ignorant of the fact of the Prince's landing, but adding his firm conviction that there existed not "the least apparatus for his reception" in the Highlands. "In a state," he writes, "of profound tranquillity, we have been alarmed with advices, which are said to have been received at London, of intended invasions; and particularly of a visit which the Pretender's eldest son is about to make us, if he has not already made it.

* "Duncan Forbes," says Lord Mahon, "has been highly, yet not too highly, extolled as a most learned and upright judge, a patriot statesman, a devoted and unwearied assertor of the Protestant succession. Few men ever loved Scotland more, or served it better. Opposing the Jacobites in their conspiracies or their rebellions, but befriending them in their adversity and their distresses, he knew, unlike his colleagues, how to temper justice with mercy, and at length offended, by his frankness, the Government he had upheld by his exertions. . . . . His seat lying in the North, (Culloden House, near Inverness,) he had always repaired thither in the intervals of the Court of Session; he had there cultivated a friendly intercourse with the principal Highland gentlemen, and gained a considerable mastery of the minds of many. He was the link that bound the false and fickle Lovat to the Government; it was mainly through him that Macleod, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and several other chiefs, were restrained to a prudent neutrality; it was he who inspirited, guided, and directed the Sutherlands, the Mackays, and the other well-affected clans in the North. Even before the news of Charles's landing was fully confirmed, he hastened from Edinburgh to Culloden, ready to perform every service that the exigency might demand."—*History of England*, vol. iii. p. 323.

These informations, particularly as to the visit just mentioned, I confess have not hitherto gained my belief. This young gentleman's game seems at present to be very desperate in this country; and, so far as I can learn, there is not the least apparatus for his reception, even amongst the few Highlanders who are suspected to be in his interest."*

On the other hand, the English Ministry, — notwithstanding the distance which they were removed from the scene of action, — appear not only to have been far better informed in regard to the Prince's probable movements, but to have been fully and sensibly alive to the dangers which threatened the country. As early as the 30th of July, the English Secretary of State, the Marquis of Tweeddale, writes from Whitehall to the Justice Clerk, Lord Milton,†—"This day there have been communicated to the Lords Justices several informations, importing that the French Court was meditating an invasion of his Majesty's dominions, and that the Pretender's son had sailed on the 15th instant, N.S., from Nantz, on board a French man-of-war, and by some accounts it was said that he was actually landed in Scotland; which last part I can hardly believe, not having had the least account of it from any of his Majesty's servants in Scotland."‡ Again, Lord Tweeddale writes to the Lord Advocate, on the 6th of August,—"I received yours by express, dated

* Culloden Papers, p. 203.

† Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, a man distinguished by high accomplishments, and by his devotion to the House of Hanover, and to the Protestant succession.

‡ Home's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 276.

August 3rd, acknowledging the receipt of mine of the 30th July. I am much of your opinion, that it is impossible, if there had been any landing in Scotland of any consequence, but you must have heard of it. However, in every event it is right to take all proper precautions. There are no certain accounts as yet what has become of the frigate which was along with the French man-of-war, the "Elizabeth," which was attacked by the "Lion" man-of-war. All accounts agree that the Pretender's son was either aboard the "Elizabeth" or the frigate. The "Elizabeth" is certainly forced back to Brest, and I hardly believe the frigate would pursue her voyage to Scotland." *

In reply to Lord Tweeddale's letter of the 30th of July, Lord Milton, on the 2nd of August, expresses his gratification at his not even having heard "a surmise of the Pretender's son having landed;" and, even as late as the 8th of August, Lord President Forbes writes to Lord Tweeddale, "I consider the report [of the Prince's sailing from France] as impossible, because I am confident that young man cannot with reason expect to be joined by any considerable force in the Highlands. Some loose, lawless men, of desperate fortunes, may indeed resort to him, but I am persuaded that none of the Highland gentlemen, who have aught to lose, will." † It is not, indeed, till the 10th of the month, that one of the Scottish functionaries, Lord Milton, informs the English Secretary of State of the actual fact of the Prince's landing. "This morning," he writes to Lord

* MS. Letter to Lord Advocate Craigie.

† Culloden Papers, p. 204.

Tweeddale, "I have information from one that lives in Glencoe, and has connections both in Lochabar and Glengary, that the Pretender's eldest son landed in Uist on the 1st of this month, and that the disaffected Highlanders expect every day to hear of a landing in England."* Even at this late period, Lord Milton's information is sufficiently incorrect. The Prince effected his landing—not at Uist on the 1st of August, but at Borrodaile on the 25th of July. It may be mentioned also, that it was not till the 22nd of August, nearly five weeks after the young Adventurer had made his appearance among the Western Islands, that the Scottish newspapers, in a confused and inaccurate account, informed the world of the memorable fact of Charles Edward having accomplished his landing on their shores. "I dare say," writes Lord Milton to Lord Tweeddale, as late as the 29th of August, "from the accounts I know your Lordship has now received from the Lord Advocate, and a gentleman who came from the Pretender's son's camp on the 21st, that there remains not the least doubt that the repeated intelligence I sent was true; nor was it worth while to mention his dress, which was said to be a white coat and a brocade vest—that he had the star and garter, and a broad-brimmed hat with a white feather—and other minutiæ, not worthy to be noticed." †

* Home, p. 281.

† Home, p. 290.

CHAPTER IV.

March of Sir John Cope into the Highlands.—Difficulties of his Situation.—The Pretender's March for the Lowlands.—His ingratiating Manners.—Their Effects on the Scottish Chiefs.—Duncan Cameron.—Arrival at Perth.—Charles visits the Palace of Scoon.

At the eventful period of the landing of Charles Edward in Scotland, the Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces north of the Tweed was Sir John Cope, a man whose personal gallantry had never been called in question, and who had passed through the subordinate grades of his profession with considerable and with deserved credit; but, on the other hand, he was naturally of a dull capacity—he was tremblingly alive to the responsibilities entailed on the tenure of public employment and command, and consequently, in a crisis which required in a singular degree decision, energy, and action, he was found totally unfit to perform the duties which he was called upon to discharge. He had, moreover, other difficulties to contend with. At the period when he was called upon to take the field against the Jacobites, the entire military force under his command, exclusive of the troops in garrison, amounted only to three thousand men. These also, it must be added, comprised two regiments of dragoons (Gardiner's and Hamilton's), who had seen but little service, three newly-raised regiments

(the 44th, 46th, and 47th), and several companies of a Highland regiment, commanded by the Earl of Loudon, whose loyalty was not only questionable, but, moreover, from their being in quarters north of Inverness, their services could scarcely be considered as available in the present emergency.

The civil functionaries who at this period held the direction of affairs in Scotland, were—the Lord President (Duncan Forbes), the Lord Justice Clerk (Lord Milton), the Lord Advocate, and the Solicitor General. By the advice of these persons—which, it may be remarked, entirely coincided with the personal views and wishes of Sir John Cope—it was decided that the latter should immediately march with the forces under his command into the heart of the Highlands;—that he should attack the disaffected wherever he might fall in with them;—and, by this means, it was fondly anticipated that the infant rebellion would be crushed at its birth.

There were, unquestionably, arguments which gave to this injudicious piece of policy at least the semblance of being founded on sound sense; and it may be mentioned, moreover, that its adoption met with the warmest approval from the English Ministry. Those, however, who originated it, ought to have remembered how, more than once (owing to the peculiar features of the country which they destined to be the scene of action, and also to the wild and peculiar mode of warfare adopted by the Highlanders), a signal advantage had been gained by the hardy mountaineers over the disciplined forces of a regular army. They ought to have called to mind the circumstances

which had aided the glorious triumphs of Montrose, and which had helped to decide the fate of the bloody struggle at Killicrankie; but, above all things, they ought to have taken counsel from the wise and successful policy adopted by the Duke of Argyll during the rebellion of 1715, who, instead of rashly bearding the roused Highlanders among their own wild fastnesses and dangerous ravines, had preferred stealthily waiting his opportunity by guarding the passes into the Lowlands, and had thus prevented the superior force of the insurgents from pushing their way into the south.

Cope, however, and his colleagues, regardless of these precedents, decided on adopting the vigorous but dangerous policy of marching at once into the Highlands—a policy sufficiently fatal and reprehensible, when we consider that he was not only commencing a campaign in an enemy's country, and opposed to forces, numerically speaking, far superior to his own; but also that it was in districts totally unsuited for the evolutions of a regular army, over ground where baggage and ammunition could with difficulty be dragged along, and where his men were certain to be exposed at every unfavourable point to the galling fire of a secret foe. In addition to these difficulties, Sir John Cope was greatly embarrassed by false advices and anonymous communications, which he daily received from the designing Jacobites; some of the details of which were highly ludicrous, and which, according to Home, the Jacobites "afterwards circulated with comments sufficiently scurrilous."

It was on the 19th of August, the day on which

Charles raised his standard at Glenfinnan, that Cope received orders at Edinburgh to place himself at the head of his troops and force his way into the Highlands. Arriving on the following day at Stirling, where his small army was assembled, he commenced his march at the head of fifteen hundred infantry. He might have swelled his numbers with the two regiments of dragoons which were under his orders, but he thought it more expedient to leave them behind him, as well on account of the difficulty of providing forage for the horses, as from the unfitness of cavalry to act in a Highland campaign. By the authorities at Edinburgh he was well provided with all the requisites for carrying on a mountain war. In addition to the large quantity of baggage which attended him, he carried with him a herd of black cattle, to serve as food for his army, four pieces of cannon, and a thousand stand of arms, which he proposed to distribute among such loyal volunteers as he might meet with on his march. No man, however, cried "God bless him!" and, when he reached Crieff, the English general found that not a single individual had joined his standard, and was consequently compelled to send back the greater part of his stand of useless arms to Stirling. It may be mentioned, that he was furnished by the English Government with a proclamation, offering a reward of 30,000*l.* for the person of the young Chevalier; which was subsequently retorted upon by Charles, who issued a proclamation, offering a reward to the same amount to whosoever should seize the person of the "Elector of Hanover."

No sooner did the English general emerge from the

Lowlands than he found his difficulties commence. The Highlanders were hostile to him to a man; his baggage-horses were stolen in numbers from their pastures at night; and the Highland gentlemen, though affecting to him a sympathy with the cause of the Government, continued to mystify and mislead him by false intelligence. His position had already become sufficiently embarrassing, if not dangerous, when at the retired inn of Dalnacardoch he accidentally fell in with Captain Sweetenham, the officer who had recently been released on his parole by Charles at Glenfinnan, from whom he learnt the true state of popular feeling in the Highlands, and the actual numbers of the insurgent army. From Dalnacardoch he marched to Dalwhinnie, situated near the foot of the great mountain of Corry Arrack. Over this perilous ascent stretched his path to Fort Augustus; at which favourable spot, as being in the centre of the disturbed districts, he had proposed to concentrate his forces, and at once strike a decisive blow against the rebels.

On his arrival at Dalwhinnie, Cope, to his great mortification, learned that the Highlanders were already in possession of the wild and dangerous traverses of Corry Arrack. The means of ascending this formidable mountain, which rose before him almost as perpendicular as a wall, were practicable only by defiling along a narrow and difficult pass, known as the Devil's Staircase, which wound by the side of rugged heights, spanning occasionally, by narrow bridges, the rapid mountain torrents, and presenting innumerable breaks and lurking-places in the

overhanging crags, from whence the Highlanders, active and unencumbered by arms, might easily have poured their frequent and fatal fire on their unsuspecting antagonists.

Had Cope, indeed, persisted in ascending the mountain, it could scarcely have failed to lead to the total annihilation of his small army. His position at this crisis was a sufficiently difficult and unenviable one. His orders, which were most positive and implicit, were to march *northwards*, and to seek an immediate encounter with the insurgents; and, educated in the most rigid school of military discipline, he knew not how to disobey them. But, on the other hand, to obey them under existing circumstances, must certainly lead to the most fatal results. In this emergency, Cope summoned a council of war, when it was unanimously agreed that the passage over Corry Arrack was impracticable. It was the advice, however, of the council to the general—in the wisdom of which he seems to have fully concurred—that he should so far obey his instructions as to proceed in a northerly direction; and that the royal army, therefore, should turn aside, and march northward to Inverness. The arguments which had the effect of inducing Cope and his council to adopt this alternative were, partly, the prospect of being joined by some of the well-affected clans during their progress, but principally the hope of tempting the insurgents, instead of forcing their march southwards, to follow in their track; it being deemed extremely improbable that the Highland chieftains would leave their homes, and all that they possessed, exposed to the certain vengeance

of the royal forces. It was thus confidently expected that the war might be confined to the Highlands till the timely arrival of fresh troops from England.

A more fatal piece of policy could not possibly have been adopted. "The military men here," writes Lord Tweeddale to the Lord President, on the 10th of September, 1745, "think, that though it might not have been fit for his Majesty's service for Sir John Cope to attack the rebels, yet that he ought to have staid somewhere about Dalwhinnie; and, in that case, it would not have been easy for the rebels to have made such a progress into the south before him; but, as the matter is now over, it is needless to enter into a discussion."* There can, indeed, be no question, that if Cope had kept his stand in the neighbourhood of Dalwhinnie, and thus have guarded the pass into the Lowland country, the Highlanders would either have been compelled to confine themselves to their native mountains, or the English general would have been enabled to force them to an engagement on level ground, where he would have possessed the very important advantage of being supported by artillery and regular troops.

It was on the 27th of August that Cope turned aside at the village of Catlaig, and commenced his march to Inverness, which town he reached by forced marches on the 29th. On the 31st the unfortunate general writes despondingly to Lord Milton—"So much fatigue of mind and body I never knew before; but my health continues good, and my spirits do not flag. Much depends upon the next step we take.

* Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iii. p. 326, note.

In this country the rebels will not let us get at them, unless we had some Highlanders with us; and *as yet not one single man has joined us, though I have lugged along with me three hundred stand of arms. No man could have believed that not one man would take arms in our favour, or show countenance to us; but so it is.*"* According to Home, two ravan-trees (mountain-ash) point out the spot where the Highlanders boasted that the royal army had avoided an engagement with them, and where the latter faced about at Catlaig. It may be also mentioned that Cope—either tremblingly sensible of the responsibilities attached to his command, or doubtful of the wisdom of the policy he had been induced to adopt—took the precaution, previous to breaking up his camp at Catlaig, of having the written opinion of the council of war signed by every individual who was present.

We must now return to the young Adventurer and his fortunes. It has already been mentioned that the raising of the standard took place on the 19th of August, in the valley of Glenfinnan; and here Charles is described by one of his followers as having passed two enviable days of elation and joy.† On the 21st he removed to Kinlochiel, situated in the country of the Camerons, at the head of Loch Eil, about five miles from Fort William. The next day we find him

* Home, p. 318.

† Major Macdonnell, of Tiendrish, when confined in the Castle of Edinburgh, informed Duncan Cameron, who related it to Bishop Forbes, that "he had never seen the Prince more cheerful at any time, and in higher spirits, than when he had got together four or five hundred men about the standard."—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 24.

a guest at Fassefern, the seat of a younger brother of Lochiel; and on the 26th he crossed the river Lochy, and took up his abode at a small inn at Letterfinlay, on the banks of Loch Lochy. During his progress he was joined at Low Bridge by the Stuarts of Appin, numbering nearly three hundred men, led by Stuart of Ardshiel; and on the 26th his small army was augmented by the Macdonalds of Glengary and the Grants of Glenmoriston, who together brought him a reinforcement of four hundred men.

It was about midnight, on the 26th of August, that an express reached Charles, at the lonely inn of Letterfinlay, that Cope was about to commence his hazardous march over the mountain of Corry Arrack. He immediately ordered a body of men to proceed to take possession of the summit of the mountain; and the same night, during a storm of wind and rain of unusual violence, he himself pushed forward to Invergary Castle, where he subsequently took up his abode for the remainder of the night.

The next morning,—the day on which Cope was sitting in council with his officers discussing the difficulties of their position,—Charles placed himself at the head of his gallant Highlanders, and commenced his march in the direction of Corry Arrack. During the march, and with the prospect of immediate action and the hope of gallant achievement, the countenance of the young Adventurer is described as having been lighted up with animation and hope, while his manner and language expressed that perfect confidence and high exultation which afterwards invariably characterized him on the eve of an approaching engagement.

" The tartan plaid it is waving wide,
The pibroch 's sounding up the glen;
And I will tarry at Auchnacarry,
To see my Donald and a' his men.
And there I saw the King o' them a',
Was marching bonnily in the van;
And aye the spell of the bagpipe's yell,
Was, ' Turn the blue bonnet, wha can, wha can?'"*

According to Fraser of Gortuleg, in a letter to the Lord President, the Prince "called that morning for his Highland clothes, and, tying the latchets of his shoes, solemnly declared that he would be up with Mr. Cope before they were unloosed." He was about to ascend the steep heights of Corry Arrack, when the tidings were brought him by one of the Camerons, who had just deserted from the royal army, that Cope had turned aside to Inverness. The news was no sooner communicated to the Highlanders, than it was received with loud shouts of joy. Charles, on this occasion, discovered his usual tact of seizing every opportunity of ingratiating himself with, and exciting the enthusiasm of, the Highlanders. Calling for a glass of brandy, and directing that every man present should receive his dram, he drank "to the health of good Mr. Cope, and may every general in the Usurper's service prove himself as much our friend as he has done."

The tidings of Cope's retreat no sooner became generally known to the Highlanders, than they expressed an ardent desire to pursue the royal army, and to force them to an immediate engagement. Charles, however, by the advice of his council, determined on adopting the far wiser policy of pursuing

* Jacobite Song.

his march into the Lowlands, and, by taking possession of the capital of Scotland, of giving confidence to the more lukewarm well-wishers to his cause, and inducing the timid and wavering to declare themselves at once in his favour. Accordingly, after traversing the mountainous district of Badenoch, the Highland army descended, on the second day, into the Vale of Athol, having been joined in their progress, like one of their own rivers, by accessions of strength at the mouths of the different little mountain glens through which they passed.

Charles by this time had succeeded, by the charm of his personal manner, in winning the affections of almost every Highlander in his army. Like the great Dundee,—if we may compare him with that extraordinary man,—he was in the habit, during a march, of walking by the side of the different clans, inquiring into their legends, listening to their national songs, and occasionally delighting them by addressing to them a few words in their native Gaelic. Moreover, they were charmed with the evidence which he gave of constitutional hardihood and personal strength. According to a contemporary writer, he "would run, fight, or leap with any man in the Highlands."* They beheld with astonishment a young Prince,—who had been nurtured in the lap of luxury, and in an enervating climate,—a match even for the hardiest and most active amongst their own people; and not only gifted like themselves with the power of enduring fatigue, and distinguishing himself in every manly exercise and amusement, but even occasionally su-

* "The Wanderer; or, Surprising Escape." Glasgow, 1752.

pèrior to themselves in the use of their own national weapon, the broadsword. "I was determined," said Charles, "to show myself *one day* a true Highlander." With this object, and with the probable chance of his being one day engaged in a Highland campaign, he had practised in his boyhood, in the sunny plains of Italy, those manly diversions and those habits which insure the endurance of fatigue, which he rightly judged might afterwards render him respected and beloved by the simple and athletic children of the north. During the period he was encamped at Dalwhinnie, he slept with his followers on the open moor; and, during his march southwards, we are assured that he walked sixteen Scottish miles in boots, "fatiguing the hardiest of his companions."

In addition to these qualities, which were so peculiarly adapted to win for the Adventurer the applause and respect of the Highland clans,—so much so, that they delighted to compare him with their favourite hero, Robert Bruce,—may be mentioned the peculiar charm of his manner and personal address. According to a modern writer, "the enthusiastic and devoted attachment with which he succeeded in inspiring them, was such as no subsequent events could ever altogether extinguish; half a century after they had seen him, when age might have been supposed to deaden their early feelings, his surviving fellow-adventurers rarely spoke of him without a sigh or a tear." Who does not remember the dying encomium pronounced by the brave Balmerino on the scaffold on his young and gallant master?—"I am at a loss when I come to speak of the Prince: I am not a fit

hand to draw his character; I shall leave that to others. But I must beg leave to tell you, that the incomparable sweetness of his nature, his affability, his compassion, his justice, his temperance, his patience, and his courage, are virtues seldom all to be found in one person. In short, he wants no qualifications requisite to make him a great man."

At Dalwhinnie, Charles was joined by a valuable coadjutor, Macpherson of Cluny, son-in-law to the celebrated Lord Lovat, and himself the chief of a powerful clan. Cluny, though in his heart he was known to be secretly a warm well-wisher to the cause of the Stuarts, had hitherto determined on keeping aloof from the enterprise; and, indeed, had recently accepted employment under the Government. Having been taken prisoner by a detachment of the insurgent army, which had been sent to surprise the barracks at Ruthven, he was conducted into the presence of Charles, by whom he was received with every mark of the most flattering distinction. In a very short space of time, the Prince's specious arguments and insinuating address had wrought such an effect on the wavering mind of the chieftain, that when, subsequently, the insurgent forces arrived at Perth, Cluny had consented to repair to his own people in the Highlands, and to array his clan in the cause of the exiled family. Such was the magical effect of Charles's personal manner and address on the minds of those whom it was his object to please or to win! Even an angel, remarked Cluny, could not have resisted "such soothing, close applications," as were addressed to him by the young Prince.

The night of the 30th of August was passed by Charles at Blair, the seat of the Duke of Athol. That nobleman had made a precipitate flight on the approach of the royal army, leaving the halls of his ancestors to be once more occupied by their rightful, but attainted possessor, his elder brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine. On the following morning, Charles reviewed his troops; and at night Tullibardine gave a sumptuous banquet, not only to the Highland chieftains who had joined the standard of the Adventurer, but also to the neighbouring and ancient vassals of his family. On this, as on all other occasions, Charles missed no opportunity of rendering himself popular with his new friends. He partook only of those dishes which were peculiar to Scotland, and gave the healths of the different Highland chieftains in Gaelic. At Blair, where he continued two days, Charles had the satisfaction of seeing himself joined by Oliphant of Gask; by Lord Strathallan; Mr. Murray, a brother of the Earl of Dunmore; and by Lord Nairn, a son of the nobleman who was condemned to death for his share in the Rebellion of 1715.

The following trifling incident, connected with the Prince's visit to Blair, is recorded by Duncan Cameron* in his Narrative;—"When the Prince was at

* Of Duncan Cameron (to whose Narrative we are indebted for many interesting particulars relating to the landing of Charles in Scotland) Bishop Forbes has left us the following account:—"When the Prince was marching his army towards England, Duncan Cameron was ordered to attend the Prince's baggage, and had got a young horse to ride upon that had not been accustomed to noise, and therefore threw Duncan upon hearing the pipes and the drums. Duncan was so bruised

Blair," he says, "he went into the garden, and, taking a walk upon the bowling-green, he said he had never seen a bowling-green before; upon which the above lady* called for some bowls, that he might see them, but he told her that he had got a present of bowls sent him as a curiosity to Rome from England."† From Blair Charles proceeded to Lude, the seat of a branch of the Robertsons, where he passed

with the fall, that he behoved to be left behind; and accordingly was carried to the house in which Lady Orminston was then living, in the neighbourhood of Dalkeith. Soon an information was given that the Highlanders had left one behind them, wounded, at such a place, and he was said to be Colonel Strickland; upon which a party of dragoons were dispatched to take the Colonel prisoner, but they found only plain Duncan, whom they brought into Edinburgh. He was committed to the city jail, where he was so lucky as to be overlooked, either through sickness or want of evidence, when others were sent off to England to stand trial. At last he was released, nothing appearing against him, some time before the indemnity came out, and got a protection for going to his own country in the Highlands. However, Duncan had no mind to make use of that protection, being resolved to return to France. He luckily fell in with Mrs. Fothringham, who was going over to France to her husband, late governor of Dundee. This lady was allowed a pass and protection for herself, a child, a man-servant, and a maid-servant, to sail for Holland. She wanted much to have Duncan Cameron along with her, because, knowing the French language well, he would prove an excellent guide for her to France. Duncan, on the other hand, was fond of having it in his power to oblige such a lady, and glad to go into any scheme whereby he could safely make his way to Holland; and therefore he agreed to pass for Mrs. Fothringham's servant, and accordingly he was inserted in the pass under the name of Duncan Campbell, an Argyleshireman. They sailed from Leith Roads, upon Friday, June 19th, and arrived in Holland the 23rd, 1749. It was most lucky for Duncan Cameron that it was never known to any of the Government that he was one of those who came over in the same frigate with the Prince: the most distant suspicion was never entertained about this, otherwise his fate would have turned out in quite another shape."—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 27.

* Mrs. Robertson, of Lude, who had been requested by Tullibardine to repair to Blair, and put the house in order for the Prince's reception.

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 26.

the night of the 2nd of September, and where, we are told, "he was very cheerful, and took his share in several dances, such as minuets and Highland reels." The first dance he called for was a Strathspey minuet, accompanied by the favourite Jacobite air, "This is no' mine ain house."*

On the evening of the 4th of September, Charles entered Perth on horseback, followed by a gallant cavalcade, consisting of Highland gentlemen, and amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the populace. In a letter addressed at this period by one of the spies of the Government to Sir John Cope, the Prince is described as habited "in a fine Highland dress, laced with gold; wears a bonnet, laced; wears a broadsword; had a green riband, but did not see the star; a well-made man, taller than any in his company." Although the magistrates of Perth had set the example of allegiance to the Government, by quitting the town on the approach of the insurgent army, Charles had little reason to complain either of neglect or inhospitality on the part of the inhabitants who remained to welcome him. On entering the town, he was immediately conducted to the house of Lord Stormont, an elder brother of the celebrated Lord Mansfield, where he received all the attention and honours due to his high birth. Lord Stormont, indeed, though sufficiently well inclined towards the cause of the Stuarts, had withdrawn himself, from prudential motives, on the Prince's approach. He left behind him, however, his two sisters, who, like too many of the ladies of Scotland,

* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 26.

were enthusiastically devoted to the cause of the exiled family, and who gladly tended their gallant and handsome guest. One of the sisters is said to have even "spread down a bed for Prince Charlie with her own hands."

During the week which Charles passed at Perth, he was busily employed in drilling and exercising his brave but undisciplined troops; in keeping up communications with his partisans in England; and in devising means for replenishing his exhausted treasury. He had brought with him only four thousand louis-d'ors from France, and when he entered Perth, says Home,—"He had but one guinea, which he showed to Kelly, one of the seven who landed with him in the Highlands, and said he would soon get more." From the town of Perth, he subsequently exacted 500*l.*; while, about the same time, voluntary contributions, to a considerable amount, reached him from his friends in Edinburgh. With the view of further enriching his treasury, military parties were dispatched by him through the neighbouring counties of Angus and Fife, who performed the double service of levying money in the principal towns, and causing his father to be proclaimed publicly as "King James the Eighth." At Dundee, one of these marauding parties, consisting of the Macdonalds, had the good fortune to seize two vessels in the harbour, laden with arms and ammunition, which were immediately dispatched to the head-quarters at Perth for the service of the insurgent army.

But the duty which principally occupied the time and attention of Charles during his stay at Perth,

was that of endeavouring to capacitate the gallant but untrained mountaineers to contend with regular and disciplined forces. With this view, he was in the habit of rising with the dawn of day, in order to inspect his troops and instruct them in their duties; and so devoted was he to this particular but favourite occupation, that on one occasion, when invited to a ball by the ladies of Perth, he is said to have danced only a single measure, and then, pleading the excuse of being compelled to visit his sentry-posts, retired suddenly from the gay scene to the discomfiture of his fair inviters.

Occasionally when reviewing his troops upon North Inch, Charles is said to have been unable to repress a smile at the awkwardness of some of his intractable recruits. He never failed, however, to pay a just and even enthusiastic tribute to their fine bearing, to their extraordinary activity and powers of enduring privation and fatigue, and to the remarkable dexterity which they displayed in the exercise of their native weapon. Well, indeed, might the young hero have been proud of that daring and affectionate host, whom he had been enabled to array in the field.

At Perth, Charles received a vast accession of strength, in consequence of being joined by Lord Ogilvie, son of the Earl of Airlie; by the Robertsons of Struan, Blairfitty, and Cushievale; as well as by a large body consisting of the retainers of the Dukes of Athol and Perth. But the most valuable accession to his cause, at this period, was in the person of Lord George Murray, younger brother of the Duke

of Athol. This nobleman had been openly engaged in the rebellion of 1715, and had since acquired considerable military experience, and a well-earned reputation, in the service of foreign powers. Charles immediately nominated him a Lieutenant-General in his army, and we shall presently find him playing a conspicuous part in the course of the insurrection.

The fair happening to be held at Perth during the period of the Prince's visit, the accession of strangers and the number of Highlanders who filled the streets, clad in their national costume, gave an agreeable and stirring gaiety to the scene. To every individual who attended the fair, Charles issued protections for their persons and property. With many of them also he entered freely and familiarly into conversation. "Tell your fellow-citizens," he said gaily to a linendraper from London, "that I expect to see them at St. James's in the course of two months."

At Perth, Charles, it is said, for the first time attended a Protestant place of worship. The sermon was preached by an intrepid clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal church, who selected the apposite text from Isaiah (xiv. 1, 2): "For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land: and the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob. And the people shall take them, and bring them to their place: and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids; and they shall take them captives, whose captives they were; and they shall rule over their oppressors."

On the morning of the 11th of September, the day on which Charles quitted Perth, he paid a visit on foot, accompanied only by two or three attendants, to the palace of Scoon. The sight of that venerable building could scarcely fail to excite many strange and mournful reflections in his breast. It was the ancient palace of his ancestors, the kings of Scotland; it was connected with many painful passages in the eventful history of his ill-fated race; it was intimately associated with the tale of their triumphs and their misfortunes, their sorrows and their joys; and, moreover, it was in the chambers of Scoon that his own father had passed more than one restless night during his unfortunate expedition in 1715, when, for the last time, the old palace had received the proscribed representative of its ancient kings, the heir of the devoted House of Stuart.

CHAPTER V.

March of the Pretender from Perth to Dumblane.—March continued.—Arrival in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.—Cowardly Retreat of Colonel Gardiner's Troops.—Consternation of the Authorities.—Charles's Letter to the Town Council.—Their conduct upon the receipt of it.

ON the afternoon of the 11th of September, Charles quitted Perth at the head of a detachment of his army, and the same day marched to Dumblane, where he waited till the following evening, in order to allow time for the large body of his army to overtake him. In the course of his short march he was joined by Macdonald of Glencoe, with sixty followers, and, shortly afterwards, by Macgregor of Glengyle, with two hundred and fifty of his clan. It had now become of the utmost importance to Charles to force his way at once into the low country. He had recently received the tidings that Cope, having quitted Inverness, was on his march to Aberdeen, and that it was his intention to embark his troops at the latter place, and to proceed by sea to the protection of the Lowlands. It was therefore the great object of Charles to anticipate this design, and by rapid marches to make himself master of the Scottish capital.

On the evening of the 12th, Charles encamped with the whole of his army about a mile to the south of

Dumblane. "It was in this neighbourhood," observes one of his followers, "that many of our fathers, and several of us now with the Prince, fought for the same cause, just thirty years before, at the battle of Sheriffmuir."*

On the 13th, Charles passed with his army close to the town of Doune, and under the walls of the picturesque but no longer "bannered towers"† of its ancient castle. From the narrative of the journalist from whom we have just quoted, we learn that the Prince "stopped at a gentleman's house near Doune, of the name of Edmonstone, and drank a glass of wine on horseback, where the ladies of the country were assembled to see him." This trifling incident is recorded, with some additional particulars, by a modern writer:—"The Prince drew up before the house, and, without alighting from his horse, drank a glass of wine to the healths of all the fair ladies present. The Misses Edmonstone, daughters to the host, acted on this occasion as servitresses, glad to find an opportunity of approaching a person of whom they had heard so much; and when Charles had drunk his wine, and restored his glass to the plate which they held for him, they begged, in respectful terms, the honour of kissing his Royal Highness's hand. This favour he granted with his usual grace; but Miss Clementina Edmonstone, cousin of the other young

* Macdonald's Journal, Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 486.

† "They rise, the bannered towers of Doune,
They sink in distant woodland soon."

Lady of the Lake.

The interesting ruins of Doune Castle, formerly the residence of the Earls of Monteith, are now the property of the Earl of Moray.

ladies, and then on a visit at Doune, thought she might obtain a much more satisfactory taste of royalty, and made bold to ask permission to 'pree his Royal Highness's mou.' Charles did not at first understand the homely Scottish phrase in which this last request was made; but it was no sooner explained to him, than he took her in his arms and gave her a hearty kiss,—to the no small vexation, it is added, of the other ladies, who had contented themselves with so much less liberal a share of princely grace."*

On this day, Charles crossed the Ford of Frew with his army, about seven miles above Stirling. He had anticipated that his passage would have been opposed at this place by Colonel Gardiner's dragoons; but the latter thought proper to retire at the approach of the insurgents. He dined this day at Leckie House, the seat of a gentleman who professed Jacobite principles, of the name of Muir, and who, on the preceding night, had been seized in his bed and carried off a prisoner to Stirling Castle, on suspicion that he was making preparations for the reception of the Prince. As the insurgent army defiled by Stirling, some cannon-shot were fired at them from the Castle, but without effect. In the course of this day, Charles marched over the memorable field of Bannockburn, and, at night, slept at Bannockburn House, the seat of Sir Hugh Paterson, a devoted adherent of his family. In the meanwhile, his army lay encamped on the neighbouring field of Sauchie, where his unfortunate ancestor, James the Third, had died in battle against his rebellious subjects.

* Chambers, p. 23, from Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire, p. 564.

On the 14th, the insurgents advanced to Falkirk, in the neighbourhood of which town Charles passed the night at Callender House, the seat of the ill-fated Lord Kilmarnock, by whom he was but too warmly welcomed. This night his army were partly quartered in the town of Falkirk, and partly in some broom-fields to the east of Callender House.

On the following day, Charles proceeded as far as Linlithgow, situated only sixteen miles from Edinburgh. At this place he had again expected to have been opposed, on Linlithgow bridge, by Gardiner's dragoons; but the latter immediately retreated on the approach of a body of Highlanders, whom the Prince had dispatched for the purpose of dispersing them. On his arrival at Linlithgow, which for centuries had been a favoured residence of the ancient kings of Scotland, he was received by the inhabitants with a hearty welcome, and with an outbreak of loyal enthusiasm which he could scarcely have anticipated. Some of the magistrates are even said to have participated in the general feeling of tumultuous joy; and though the Provost, a staunch Jacobite, had thought it prudent to make good his retreat to Edinburgh, his wife and daughters waited, nevertheless, on the Prince, and, clad in tartan dresses and decorated with the white cockade, were admitted to the honour of kissing his hand. The Prince, on entering this ancient town, was conducted in a kind of triumph to the venerable palace of his ancestors, where the housekeeper, Mrs. Glen Gordon, is said, in an excess of loyal zeal, to have too freely regaled all the respectable inhabitants of Linlithgow with wine, which either the old palace

or her own finances could afford. This night the army were encamped about three miles to the east of the town.

The scenes of deep and stirring interest over which the young Adventurer had passed within the few last days, — associated as they were, not only with the most brilliant passages in the annals of his country, but more especially with the changes and chances which had befallen his own ill-fated race, — must have awakened emotions of no ordinary nature in his mind. "All the ground thus traversed," says Lord Mahon, "by the insurgents, is fraught with the brightest associations of Scottish story. On that field of Bannockburn had Liberty and the Bruce prevailed; — that palace of Linlithgow was the birthplace of the ill-fated Mary, and afterwards her dwelling in hours,—alas! how brief and few!—of peaceful sovereignty and honourable fame;—those battlements of Stirling had guarded the cradle of her infant son; — there rose the Torwood, where Wallace sought shelter from the English invaders; — yonder flowed the Forth, which so often had 'bridled the wild Highlandman.' Surely, even a passing stranger could never gaze on such scenes without emotion—still less any one intent on like deeds of chivalrous renown—least of all the youthful heir of Robert Bruce, and of the long line of Stuart kings!"*

It may have been observed by the reader, that the insurgent army, in pursuing their march to take possession of the Scottish capital,—instead of following the direct road from Perth to Edinburgh by passing

* History of England from the Peace of Utrecht, vol. iii. p. 337.

the Frith of Forth at Queen's Ferry, — had chosen a much more tedious and circuitous route. Their reasons for taking this step were partly on account of the number of King's ships which lay in the Forth to intercept their passage, and partly in consequence of the loss of life which they must have hazarded had they crossed the Forth at Stirling; the bridge at that place being directly commanded by the guns of the castle.

During the whole of their march through the Lowlands, the Highland clans, notwithstanding their proverbial addiction to theft and pillage, behaved with the most praiseworthy forbearance. Everything was carefully paid for by them during their march, and it may be mentioned, as evidence of the determination of the chieftains to maintain discipline among their followers, that Lochiel, having detected one of his clan in the act of plunder, notwithstanding his repeated orders, shot the offender dead upon the spot.

On the following day, the 16th of September, the insurgent army recommenced their march in the direction of Edinburgh, and towards evening encamped upon a rising ground near the twelfth mile-stone from the Scottish capital.* The next morning, Charles continued his march towards Edinburgh, and at night took up his quarters at Gray's Mill, within two miles of that city.

It may readily be imagined, that the peaceful inhabitants of Edinburgh were already sufficiently terrified by the news of the near approach of the insurgent army, and by the exaggerated notions which prevailed

* Home, p. 36.

at the time, in regard to the wild and ruthless character of the Highland clans. In the course, however, of this day, an incident occurred which spread among them fresh terror and dismay. A body, amounting to about three hundred and sixty men, and consisting chiefly of the peaceful town-guard of Edinburgh, and of civilians who had volunteered their services in support of the Government, had been sent forward by the authorities of the city to a place called Colt Bridge, about two miles west of the capital, for the purpose of opposing the further progress of the Highlanders. These individuals had quitted their homes in the morning amidst many disheartening circumstances. Not only were they totally unused to the circumstances and terror of war, but, moreover, in the course of their march through the streets of Edinburgh on their way to Colt Bridge, they had been still further discouraged, and their spirits depressed, in consequence of the number of their terrified fellow-townsmen, who,—taking advantage of the many narrow alleys and closes which intersect their ancient city,—had gladly seized the opportunity of slipping away from the main body of their companions, and returning to their own homes. In addition to these circumstances, those who had still the courage to proceed in the direction of the dreaded Highlanders, had been exposed, in their march through the streets of their native city, not only to the tears and entreaties of their wives and female relatives, who vehemently besought them to consult only their own safety and to return to their quiet homes, but also to the entreaties and arguments of their fellow-citizens, who conjured

them to remain behind, and reserve themselves for the defence of the city. Their campaign was destined to be as brief as it was inglorious. On taking up their position at Colt Bridge, they are graphically described, by one who was present, as drawn up in the form of a crescent in an open field to the east of the bridge, and betraying looks which spoke eloquently of doubt and dismay. At their head was the brave and unfortunate Colonel Gardiner, who, on account of his age and the infirm state of his health, was wrapped up in a capacious blue surcoat, with a handkerchief drawn over his hat and tied under his chin.

In addition to the volunteers and town-guard of Edinburgh, Colonel Gardiner had under his command the only two regiments of dragoons which at this period were stationed in Scotland. His military dispositions were already made. At the village of Corstorphine, about two miles in advance of Colt Bridge, he had posted a small party of dragoons, with the view, apparently, of bringing him the earliest intelligence of the approach of the insurgent army. These men were at their post when the Highlanders appeared in view; and immediately that the Prince perceived them, he gave orders to some of the Highland gentlemen who constituted his staff to ride up and reconnoitre them. "These young gentlemen," says Home, "riding up to the dragoons, fired their pistols at them, who, without returning one shot, wheeled about and rode off, carrying their fears into the main body."*

* Home, p. 88.

The example of these craven dragoons decided the fate of Gardiner's small army, in which consisted the last remaining hope of the people of Edinburgh. The dragoons and volunteers at Colt Bridge no sooner beheld their fugitive comrades riding terrified and furious towards them, than they were seized with the same overwhelming and unaccountable panic. Utterly regardless of the threats and entreaties of their officers, they commenced a shameful and precipitate flight, and passing, in full view of the people of Edinburgh, over the ground at the north side of the city, where the New Town now stands, they never slackened their speed till they reached the grounds of their own gallant and afflicted leader, Colonel Gardiner. This disgraceful flight was afterwards familiarly designated and spoken of as the "canter of Colt Brigg."—"Instantly," says Home, "the clamour rose, and crowds of people ran about the streets, crying out that it was madness to think of resistance, since the dragoons had fled." The scene was witnessed with very opposite feelings by the people of Edinburgh;—by the Jacobites with a secret satisfaction which they were scarcely able to conceal: but by the great majority of the inhabitants with feelings of unequivocal consternation and distress.*

* Lord Milton writes to the Marquis of Tweeddale on the 16th of September, 1745:—"Alas, my lord! I have grief and not glory that my fears have been more than fulfilled; for more than I feared is come to pass. Yesterday, the two regiments of dragoons fled from the rebel army in the sight of Edinburgh, where many loyal gentlemen stood armed to defend the city, which was so dispirited and struck with consternation, that they resolved to open their gates to the rebels, despairing of speedy relief, and unable to make a long defence."—*Home*, p. 306.

Edinburgh, which at no period could have been regarded as a fortified city, was certainly in a miserable condition to maintain a siege. The walls, which scarcely at any time had served any better purpose than preventing the admission of smuggled goods, were in a most ruinous state, — occasionally, indeed, strengthened with bastions, and provided with embrasures; but, generally speaking, they presented no better defence against the attack of an enemy than might have been supplied by a common park wall. In many places, rows of dwelling-houses had been built from time to time against the city walls; and these again were commanded by other and loftier houses, such as at present constitute the row of tenements between the Cowgate Port and the Netherbow Port. Under the superintendence, indeed, of the celebrated mathematician, Maclaurin, some ingenious but fruitless attempts had been made, on the first tidings of the approach of the dreaded Highlanders, to place the city in a state of defence. The walls were casually repaired; some pieces of old and almost unserviceable cannon were collected from Leith and other stores; attempts were made to barricade the ancient gates, and a guard was appointed for the defence of each port; but still, to every eye that could boast of any military experience, the possibility of defending the city appeared almost as hopeless as it had been before.

The guard which was appointed for the defence of the Northern capital, appears to have been even more inefficient than the works which they were called upon to protect. It consisted of sixteen companies

of the ancient train bands of the city, — each company comprising a hundred men, — who were officered from among the peaceful merchants and burghers of Edinburgh, and who, with the exception of an annual field-day on the King's birthday, had not appeared in arms since the Revolution of 1688. Moreover, when the hour of danger arrived, not above a third of these individuals appear to have been forthcoming for the defence of their native city. Indeed, — including the few volunteers who came forward in support of the Government, as well as the Duke of Buccleugh's tenants, who had been despatched by that nobleman to assist in the defence of Edinburgh,—the number of individuals who were available for the protection of the city and of their civil and religious rights, amounted to less than seven hundred men. How lukewarm and indifferent appears the support extended, at this period, to the existing Government and to the foreign House of Brunswick, contrasted with the devoted and affectionate loyalty which arrayed, as if by magic, the enthusiastic children of the mountain and the mist, in the cause of the exiled and unfortunate Stuarts!

The determination of the authorities of Edinburgh to defend the city to the last, was for many reasons an extremely unpopular measure with the great majority of the inhabitants. Somewhat previous, it may be mentioned, to the unfortunate affair at Colt Bridge,—when the great question of to "defend or not defend" the city was one of paramount interest and of general discussion, — an incident occurred which increased still more the general impression

which prevailed against the policy of exposing the city, either to the hazardous and uncertain issue of a protracted siege, or to the horrors which would probably attend a successful assault. While the Provost and magistrates were engaged in discussing the merits of this important question, a Mr. Alves suddenly made his appearance, and, on the plea of having important tidings to communicate, obtained permission to present himself before them. He had by accident, he declared, found himself in the midst of the rebel army, where he had held a conversation with the Duke of Perth, with whom he had formerly been personally acquainted. "The Duke," he said, "desired me to inform the citizens of Edinburgh, that if they opened their gates, their town should be favourably treated; but that, if they attempted resistance, they must expect military execution; and his Grace ended by addressing a young man near him with the title of Royal Highness, and desiring to know if such were not his pleasure, to which the other assented." For his imprudence, or, it may be, treason, in so publicly communicating his message instead of confiding it to the private ear of the first magistrate, Mr. Alves was immediately committed to prison. The nature, however, of his mission soon became known to the people of Edinburgh, and the effect which it produced on the public mind was such as had been eagerly anticipated by the Jacobites. The inhabitants, whose minds were already strongly excited on the subject, were now heard redoubling their outcry against the adoption of this unpopular measure.

At this crisis, the Provost of Edinburgh came to the determination of calling a meeting, which it was proposed should consist of the magistracy of the city and of the Crown officers. The meeting, such as it was, was convened forthwith; but it was found, when the assembly met, that the officers of the Crown had already secured their safety by a prudent retreat. The meeting, moreover, was attended by a number of unauthorized persons, who not only vehemently insisted that the insurgent army should be admitted within the city walls, but also, by their clamorous and senseless vociferations, entirely drowned the voices of those who argued in favour of the adoption of a different policy.

It was in the midst of this din, that a letter was handed in at the door, addressed to the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Edinburgh. It was immediately opened by one of the Council, who at once proclaimed the important fact that it contained the superscription,—"CHARLES, P. R." The Provost instantly rose to address the meeting, and after strongly but vainly protesting against so treasonable a document being received or read in the presence of the King's officers, took his departure, accompanied by several members of the Town Council, to the Goldsmith's Hall. The letter, however, in spite of the objections raised by the principal magistrate, was eventually read to the meeting, and proved to be as follows;—

"From our Camp, 16th September, 1745.

"BEING now in a condition to make our way into the capital of His Majesty's ancient kingdom of

Scotland, we hereby summon you to receive us, as you are in duty bound to do; and in order to it, we hereby require you, upon receipt of this, to summon the Town Council, and take proper measures for securing the peace and quiet of the city, which we are very desirous to protect. But if you suffer any of the Usurper's troops to enter the town, or any of the cannon, arms, or ammunition now in it, (whether belonging to the public, or private persons,) to be carried off, we shall take it as a breach of your duty, and a heinous offence against the King and us, and shall resent it accordingly. We promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the particular property of every one of His Majesty's subjects. But if any opposition be made to us, we cannot answer for the consequences, being firmly resolved at any rate to enter the city; and, in that case, if any of the inhabitants are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war. CHARLES, P. R."*

In consequence of the receipt of this communication, it was decided that a deputation should forthwith wait upon the Prince, in order to negotiate the terms of a capitulation; but with instructions to delay as long as possible the final ratification of the treaty, with the view of gaining time till Cope should have disembarked his troops at Dunbar, and be on his march to the rescue of the capital.

Accordingly the deputation, consisting of Baillie Hamilton and other members of the Council, set out

* Home, p. 92.

on their mission to wait on the Prince at Gray's Mill. Charles received them with his usual courtesy, but, evidently aware of the motives which induced them to seek delay, he returned them the kind of answer which they ought to have anticipated. He appealed, he said, to his own and his father's declarations, as a sufficient guarantee both for the safeguard of the rights and liberties, as well as the individual property, of the people of Edinburgh:—his present demands, he added, were, to be received into the city, and there to be obeyed as the son and representative of the King, his father; and lastly, he peremptorily demanded to be informed of their final resolution before two o'clock in the morning.*

It was ten o'clock at night when the deputation, wearied and dispirited, rejoined their friends at Edinburgh. The frightened magistrates were again summoned to the Council. The time allowed them for deliberation was sufficiently short, and as no new or more feasible line of policy was suggested by any one present, it was decided, as a last but vain resource, that the deputation should again wait upon the Prince, and once more use their endeavours to procure delay. Their object at this particular moment, according to Home, was "to beg a suspension of hostilities till nine o'clock in the morning, that the magistrates might have an opportunity of conversing with the citizens, most of whom were gone to bed."† Another of their instructions was, to obtain from Charles an explanation of what was meant by requiring them to receive him as "Prince Regent."

* Home, p. 95. † Ibid.

Even to the most obtuse, the object and intention of such a requisition must have appeared sufficiently clear; but even had it been otherwise, it was extremely unlikely that, at such a moment, the Prince would have condescended to enter into the desired explanation. At two o'clock in the morning, the civil functionaries again set out for Gray's Mill. The result of their second negotiation was even less satisfactory than their first. They were formally reminded of the Prince's former assurance to them that he had given them his final answer; and they were further informed that they could on no account be again admitted to his presence.

CHAPTER VI.

Occupation of Edinburgh by the Rebels. — Enthusiastic Behaviour of Mrs. Murray of Broughton. — Arrival of Charles in the Capital of his Ancestors. — Gives a Ball at Holyrood. — Marches to give Battle to Sir John Cope.—Preparations for Battle.

THIS eventful night — the eve of the triumphal entry of Charles into the capital of the ancient kingdom of his forefathers—was passed by the young adventurer on the ground, and with a respite of only two hours' repose. Fully aware, as we have already mentioned, of the object of the magistrates of Edinburgh in negotiating for delay, he had already sent forward a body of eight hundred Highlanders, under the command of the celebrated Lochiel, who were furnished with a sufficient quantity of gunpowder to blow up the gates of the city if necessary, and whose orders were to make themselves masters of Edinburgh before daybreak, either by storm or surprise, according as their leader might deem fit.

This party was confided to the guidance of Murray of Broughton, who had been selected for the duty on account of his intimate knowledge of the localities. They lay in ambush for some time in the vicinity of the Netherbow Port,—their leaders being engaged in

discussing a variety of projects for making themselves masters of the city,—when, about five o'clock in the morning, the gates were suddenly opened, in order to give egress to the hackney-coach which had conveyed the second deputation to Gray's Mill, and which, having carried the deputies to their homes, was now peacefully returning to its owner's quarters without the walls.

Not a moment was lost in taking advantage of this favourable occurrence. In an instant, eight hundred Highlanders, headed by Lochiel, rushed through the gateway, and made themselves masters of the city. "It was about five o'clock in the morning," says Home, "when the rebels entered Edinburgh. They immediately sent parties to all the other gates, and to the town guard, who, making the soldiers upon duty prisoners, occupied their posts as quietly as one guard relieves another. When the inhabitants of Edinburgh awaked in the morning, they found that the Highlanders were masters of the city."* The first person, it may be mentioned, who entered the city was a Captain Evan Macgregor, grandson of Sir Evan Murray Macgregor, a Scottish baronet. Charles was so delighted with the daring gallantry of the young man, that the same night, at Holyrood House, he promoted him to the rank of Major.†

The day had only just dawned, when, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, Lochiel and his gallant Camerons were seen drawn up in military array, in the open space which surrounded the famous Cross of Edinburgh. Alas! that venerable and interesting

* Home, p. 96. † Chambers, p. 27, note.

relic of the past — associated with so many memorable and romantic scenes in Scottish history — has since been removed by the sacrilegious orders of the civic authorities of Edinburgh! Opposite the Cross,—surrounded by the armed and picturesque-looking Highlanders,—stood the heralds and pursuivants in their splendid and courtly dresses, who solemnly proclaimed "King James the Eighth," and concluded the ceremony by reading the royal declarations, and the commission which conferred the Regency on the Prince.

Perhaps the most remarkable figure in this striking scene was that of a beautiful and enthusiastic woman, Mrs. Murray of Broughton, who, seated on horseback and with a drawn sword in her hand, was seen distributing to the bystanders the white ribbon — the famous emblem of devotion to the cause of the Stuarts. The scene altogether was one of heart-stirring and extraordinary interest. No sooner had the heralds concluded their task, than the bystanders are said to have rent the air with their acclamations, which, uniting with the wild and exhilarating notes of the bagpipe, completed the enthusiasm of the moment. "In the windows," says one who seems to have been a witness of the scene, "a number of ladies strained their voices with acclamations, and their arms with waving white handkerchiefs, in honour of the day."* In the surrounding crowd, indeed, there were to be seen many countenances who "showed their dislike by a stubborn silence;"† but these constituted by far the minority, and could only have served to add to the picturesque effect of a

* Home, p. 102. † Ibid.

memorable scene, which the painter might well take delight in committing to the canvas.

While these events were passing in Edinburgh, Charles, having learned the success of his manœuvre, was on his way, at the head of his army, to take possession of the seat of Government. It may be mentioned, that at the very time when he was employed in breaking up his camp at Gray's Mill, Sir John Cope was actively engaged in landing his troops at Dunbar, with the view of marching to the relief of the capital.

In order to avoid the fire of the guns from the castle of Edinburgh, Charles advanced towards Holyrood by a southerly and circuitous route. Leaving his army encamped in a spot known as the Hunter's Bog,—a hollow site between Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags,—he rode forward, attended by the Duke of Perth on one side, and by Lord Elcho on the other, till he reached an eminence below St. Anthony's Well, where, for the first time, he saw extended before him in full view the ancient palace of his forefathers, with all its surrounding scenery, every foot of which was intimately connected with the pastimes, the sorrows, and the triumphs of his ill-fated race.

Of the Prince's feelings at this moment, no particular account has been handed down to us, but they must have been of such a nature as to be much more easily imagined than described. The simple fact has been recorded, that on reaching this spot, he alighted from his horse, and, for a short space of time, continued silently gazing on the interesting scene. Let us pause, indeed, for a moment, to con-

sider how extraordinary was the change which had taken place, within a few short weeks, in the destinies of the young and daring adventurer. He had parted from his father at Rome animated by high hopes and gallant resolves; but he had then received an invitation from the first Power in Europe to enlist himself beneath its banners: he had hoped to be the companion-in-arms of the great Saxe, to fight by the side of that celebrated man, and to be borne by the mighty legions of France in triumph to Whitehall. These hopes had been signally and miserably disappointed. Instead of the triumph which he had anticipated, he found, on reaching France, that a diferent and adverse policy influenced the counsels of Louis the Fifteenth; he was doomed to encounter, at every step, the cold looks of the courtiers of Versailles, and discovered, but too late, that he was the mere dupe of the Machiavelian policy of the French ministers.

It was then that the young and the gallant Prince came to the determination of trusting to the resources of his own genius, and of playing that great game of which the stakes were a coffin or a crown. Without pecuniary resources, without military stores, and almost without friends, we have seen him landing among the desolate rocks of the Western Islands; we have seen him, by his own native powers of eloquence and persuasion, overcoming the scruples of a proverbially cautious race; rendering himself almost an idol, not only with the enthusiastic and the young, but with the wary and the old; arraying himself with a band as gallant and as devoted as had ever fought in the cause of his family beneath the glor-

ious banners of Montrose or Dundee; and now, in less than the short space of two months, we find him taking quiet possession of the ancient capital of Scotland, and of the venerable palace of his forefathers. And yet Charles was at this period only in his twenty-fifth year!

The Prince entered the King's Park, near Priestfield, where a breach had been made in the wall * to admit of a free ingress for him and his suite. At this spot he was met by a vast concourse of people, by whom he was received with loud and continued acclamations. Unquestionably many of these persons were confirmed Jacobites; but by far the majority seem to have consisted of the fickle and senseless multitude, who, captivated by the novelty of the scene, by the charm which usually attaches itself to the sight of royalty, by the gallantry of the exploit, and perhaps by the graceful horsemanship and the fine bearing of the young and handsome Prince, contributed loudly to the rapturous welcome which invited Charles to take possession of the palace of his ancestors. According to a contemporary journalist, —"he came to the royal palace at the Abbey of Holyrood House, amidst a vast crowd of spectators, who, from town and country, flocked together to see this uncommon sight, expressing their joy and surprise together by long and loud huzzas. Indeed, the whole scene, as I have been told by many, was rather like a dream, so quick and amazing seemed the change; though, no doubt, wise people saw well enough we had much to do still."†

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 446. † Ibid. p. 488.

According to another contemporary writer,—the celebrated John Home, the author of "Douglas," who was himself a spectator of the scene,—"The park was full of people,—amongst whom was the author of this history,—all of them impatient to see this extraordinary person. The figure and presence of Charles Stuart were not ill-suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the prime of youth, tall and handsome, of a fair complexion; he had a light-coloured periwig, with his own hair combed over the front; he wore the Highland dress,—that is, a tartan short coat without the plaid, a blue bonnet on his head, and on his breast the star of the Order of St. Andrew. Charles stood some time in the park, to show himself to the people; and then, though he was very near the palace, mounted his horse, either to render himself more conspicuous, or because he rode well and looked graceful on horseback. The Jacobites were charmed with his appearance; they compared him to Robert Bruce, whom he resembled, they said, in his figure as in his fortune. The Whigs looked upon him with other eyes. They acknowledged that he was a goodly person; but they observed that, even in that triumphant hour, when he was about to enter the palace of his fathers, the air of his countenance was languid and melancholy: that he looked like a gentleman and a man of fashion, but not like a hero or a conqueror."* Such, in describing the triumphant progress of Charles Edward towards Holyrood, is the language of one of the staunchest partisans of the House of Brunswick; one, however,

* Home, p. 99.

who, notwithstanding his Whig principles, it is evident was in no slight degree infected with the prevailing enthusiasm of the moment.

Charles proceeded through the park to Holyrood by way of the Duke's Walk—so called from having been the favourite retreat of his grandfather, James the Second, during his residence in Scotland. The mob followed him during his progress with repeated acclamations,—pressing forward to kiss his hands, and "dimming his boots with their kisses and tears;"—while numbers were compelled to retire satisfied with having been able to touch his clothes. Never, since the accession of the House of Hanover in 1714, had any scion of that foreign family,—even in their pride of power and pomp of place and circumstance,—been received with a tithe of that rapturous enthusiasm which now welcomed the young and proscribed representative of the House of Stuart to the desolate halls of his family.

"When Charles," says Home, "came to the palace, he dismounted, and walked along the piazza towards the apartment of the Duke of Hamilton. When he was near the door, which stood open to receive him, a gentleman stepped out of the crowd, drew his sword, and raising his arm aloft, walked up stairs before Charles."* The person who rendered himself thus conspicuous, was James Hepburn, of Keith, a gentleman of high accomplishment, who had been *out* during the rebellion of 1715, and who had ever since continued a staunch adherent of the House of Stuart. Though opposed to the government of James the

* Home, p. 100.

Second, and to the principles which had lost that monarch his crown;—moreover, though by no means an advocate of the indefeasible and divine right of kings; — yet so great was his abhorrence of the Act of Union between England and Scotland, and his repugnance to the German sovereigns who had usurped the place of the Stuarts, that he determined on adopting the cause of the adventurer, and chose this singular mode of displaying his dislike of, and opposition to, the existing Government. "He was idolized," says Home, "by the Jacobites, and beloved by some of the best Whigs, who regretted that this accomplished gentleman, the model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and honour, should sacrifice himself to a visionary idea of the independence of Scotland."*

At the moment when Charles made his appearance in front of Holyrood Palace, a cannon shot was fired at him from the guns of the castle. It struck a portion of the building known as James the Fifth's Tower, and fell into the court-yard below, occasioning no more mischief than scattering a quantity of rubbish, which fell with it in its descent. The incident altered not for a moment the countenance of Charles, who, apparently perfectly unconcerned, passed into the palace without taking any notice of it whatever.

At night, Charles gave that celebrated ball in the gallery of Holyrood, which has derived immortality from the pen of the great modern master of romance, and which perhaps was the first that had enlivened its deserted saloons, since the days of Queen Mary

* Home, p. 101.

and David Rizzio. That gay and memorable scene was never forgotten by those who were present. The ladies of the North were loud in their applause of the Prince's handsome person, and of the grace with which he moved in the dance. By far the majority of the women of Scotland were already but too well disposed to his cause; nor did it require any ocular demonstration of his personal graces and accomplishments to add, either to the romantic enthusiasm which they conceived for him in the days of his greatness, or to the sympathy which his sufferings awakened in them when the star of his splendour was set, and when he was skulking a proscribed and hunted fugitive among the wild fastnesses of the Highlands.

Previous to his arrival at Holyrood, Charles had derived a considerable accession of strength, in consequence of having been joined by several persons of influence and note. Among these were the Earl of Kellie, Lord Balmerino, Sir Stuart Threipland, Sir David Murray, and the younger Lockhart of Carnwath. The day also after his arrival at Edinburgh, his standard was joined by Lord Nairn, with about five hundred men of the clan Mac Lauchlan, and on the following day by a party of the Grants of Glenmoriston. It may be mentioned also, that from the military magazine of Edinburgh he obtained a thousand stand of arms, which proved of the greatest service to him in the present emergency.

Having spent an entire day at Holyrood, Charles, on the night of the 19th of September, retraced his steps to the village of Duddingstone, in the imme-

diate neighbourhood of which place his small army was bivouacking. It having been by this time ascertained that Sir John Cope was on his march from the North to give him battle, the Prince on the same night summoned a council of the Highland chieftains, when he proposed that they should break up their encampment the next morning, and march in the direction of the enemy, with the object of forcing Cope to an immediate engagement.

This proposition having met with the unanimous approbation of the Highland chieftains, Charles next inquired significantly of them in what manner they conceived their retainers would behave when brought into action with regular troops. The chiefs, having consulted together for a short time, requested permission to name Macdonald of Keppoch as their spokesman; that gentleman, they said, being the best qualified to deliver an opinion on the subject, not only from his having served in the French army, but also from his knowledge of the Highland character, which rendered him peculiarly competent to judge of what was likely to be the issue of an encounter between the undisciplined mountaineers and a regular force. On this, Keppoch addressed himself to the Prince. As the country, he said, had been long at peace, few, if any, of the private men had ever been in action, and therefore it was not easy to conjecture in what manner they would conduct themselves. He added, however, that he could venture to assure his Royal Highness, that the Highland gentlemen, at least, would be found in the thickest of the combat; and, inasmuch as the private men loved the

cause in which they had embarked, and were warmly devoted to their several chieftains, it was certain they would stand by their leaders to the last.

This opinion having been deemed sufficiently satisfactory, the Prince next expressed his determination of charging at the head of his army. It was then that, for the first time, the chieftains opposed themselves to his wishes. Should any accident, they said, befal him, they were ruined and undone; inasmuch as, to them at least, victory and defeat would lead to the same result, and would alike expose them to the tender mercies of the Government. Charles still continuing to persist in his original resolution, the chieftains even went so far as firmly, though respectfully, to express their determination to return to their own homes, and there make the best terms they could for themselves with the Government. The Prince, it is needless to add, was eventually compelled to yield to their united threats and entreaties. He still, however, insisted on a compromise, and expressed his fixed determination of leading the second line.

At an early hour on the following morning, the 20th of September, the Highland army, full of high hope and elated by the promise of adventure, commenced its march in a column of very narrow front, having only three men in each rank. Charles, placing himself at their head, drew his sword amidst their enthusiastic shouts, and exclaimed,—"Gentlemen, I have flung away the scabbard." The army, emerging from Duddingstone Park, crossed the river Esk at the bridge of Musselburgh; the same bridge which two centuries before had been traversed by the Scot-

tish army on their way to the field of Pinkie. They then proceeded along the post-road till they came to Edge Bucklin Brae. As they defiled along,—"A lady," says a modern writer, "who in early youth had seen them pass, was able, in 1827, to describe the memorable pageant. The Highlanders strode on with their squalid clothes and various arms, their rough limbs and uncombed hair, looking around them with an air of fierce resolution. The Prince rode amidst his officers, at a little distance from the flank of the column, preferring to amble over the dry stubble-fields beside the road. My informant remembered as yesterday, his graceful carriage and comely looks, his long light hair straggling below his neck, and the flap of his tartan coat thrown back by the wind, so as to make the star dangle for a moment clear in the air by its silken ribbon. He was viewed with admiration by the simple villagers; and even those who were ignorant of his claims, or who rejected them, could not help wishing him good fortune, and at least no calamity."*

Leaving the town of Musselburgh to the left, the insurgent army proceeded by way of the old Kirk road to Inveresk, and crossing the street of Newbigging again entered the post-road to the south of the Pinkie Gardens. It was at this place, that Lord George Murray, who commanded the van, ascertained that Sir John Cope was encamped with his army a few miles in advance, in the neighbourhood of Preston. Desirous of securing for the Highlanders the

* Chambers, p. 32. The lady was the late Mrs. Handasyde, of Fisherrow.

advantage of fighting on rising ground, where they were secure from the attacks of cavalry, and might pour down with greater force on their opponents, he advanced for some distance up Fawside Hill, and then, diverging to the left, led his forces down hill in the direction of Tranent, where he halted them by the side of the post-road, a little to the west of that place. It may be mentioned, that the last two miles of the march were performed in full view of the enemy. The latter, on the first appearance of the Highlanders, raised a loud shout, which was responded to with vehement alacrity by the other party. When the Highland army halted at Tranent, the two opposing forces were separated by scarcely more than half a mile from each other.

It now becomes necessary to trace the steps of Sir John Cope, in his short progress from Dunbar to Preston, a distance only of about twenty miles. Having completed the disembarkation of his troops on the 18th, he commenced his march on the following day in the direction of Edinburgh. "His little army," says Home "made a great show, the cavalry, the infantry, the cannon, with a long train of baggage-carts, extended for several miles along the road. The people of the country, long unaccustomed to war and arms, flocked from all quarters, to see an army going to fight a battle in East Lothian; and, with infinite concern and anxiety for the event, beheld this uncommon spectacle."* At Inverness, Cope had been reinforced by two hundred of Lord Loudon's men, and at Dunbar he was rejoined by the two regiments of

* Home, p. 105.

dragoons who had fled before the insurgent army at Colt Bridge.

At Dunbar, also, Cope had been met on his landing by the judges and other civil officers of the Crown, who had quitted Edinburgh on the evening before the capture of the capital. A few Lowland gentlemen—the most considerable of whom was the Earl of Home, who held a commission in the Guards,—had hastened to join the General on his landing; but they were attended only by a very few followers, and, except that their example might possibly influence others, were likely to prove of little service to the cause of the Government. It was curious, indeed, to observe the extraordinary change which had taken place within a few years, as regarded the feudal system in the Lowlands. Scarcely a century since, the ancestor of Lord Home had been enabled to greet Charles the First at the head of six hundred retainers; and yet now, when his descendant would fain have exhibited a similar display of zeal in the cause of the House of Brunswick, he was compelled to make his way to Cope at Dunbar attended by only two servants!

During the night of the 19th, Cope lay encamped with his army in a field to the west of Haddington, about sixteen miles east of Edinburgh. As there existed the possibility of the Highlanders effecting one of their rapid marches and surprising the royal army in the night, the General selected sixteen young men, chiefly from among the Edinburgh volunteers, who willingly promised their services to patrol the different roads which led to the Highland camp, and whose instructions were to return alter-

nately, two by two, and make their reports to the officer who commanded the piquet. Among these individuals was Home, the author of "Douglas," of whose valuable narrative of the Rebellion we have so often availed ourselves. That writer informs us, somewhat ominously, that two of his companions "never came back to Haddington." These persons were, in after-life, sufficiently well known as Lord Gardenstone and General Cunninghame, the former having risen to distinction in a civil, and the latter in a military capacity. As the story of their disappearance on the eve of the battle of Preston Pans is somewhat curious, and as we are enabled to narrate it in the language of Sir Walter Scott, we may perhaps be pardoned for the passing digression. "On approaching Musselburgh," says Sir Walter, "they avoided the bridge to escape observation, and crossed the Esk, it being then low water, at a place nigh its conjunction with the sea. Unluckily there was, at the opposite side, a snug thatched tavern, kept by a cleanly old woman called Luckie F——, who was eminent for the excellence of her oysters and sherry. The patrol were both *bon vivants;* one of them, whom we remember in the situation of a senator, was unusually so, and a gay, witty, agreeable companion besides. Luckie's sign, and the heap of oyster-shells deposited near her door, proved as great a temptation to this vigilant forlorn-hope, as the wine-house to the Abbess of Andouillet's muleteer. They had scarcely got settled at some right *pandores*, with a bottle of sherry as an accompaniment, when, as some Jacobite devil would have it, an unlucky north-country lad, a

writer's (that is, attorney's) apprentice, who had given his indentures the slip and taken the white cockade, chanced to pass by on his errand to join Prince Charlie. He saw the two volunteers through the window, knew them, and guessed their business; he saw the tide would make it impossible for them to return along the sands as they had come. He therefore placed himself in ambush upon the steep, narrow, impracticable bridge, which was then, and for many years afterwards, the only place of crossing the Esk: and how he contrived it I could never learn, but the courage and assurance of his province are proverbial, and the Norland whipper-snapper surrounded and made prisoners of the two unfortunate volunteers before they could draw a trigger."* They were carried, it seems, to the Highland camp at Duddingstone, and handed over to the custody of the officer in command of the Prince's body-guard, who instantly denounced them as spies, and proposed to hang them accordingly. Fortunately they were recognised by an old acquaintance, a Mr. Colquhoun Grant, afterwards a respectable writer to the signet in Edinburgh, who vouched for their innocence, and subsequently contrived the means by which they effected their escape.

On the morning of the 20th, Cope resumed his march towards Edinburgh, proceeding along the post-road till he reached Huntington, when he turned off and took the low road by St. Germains and Seaton. "In this march," says Home, "the officers assured the spectators, of whom no small number attended them, that there would be no battle, for, as the

* Quarterly Review, vol. xxxvi. p. 177.

cavalry and infantry were joined, the Highlanders would not venture to wait the attack of so complete an army."* As the van of the royal army was entering the flat piece of land which lies between Seaton and Preston, Cope learned for the first time that the insurgents were in full march to meet him. The plain before him appeared to be well suited to serve as the scene of an engagement, and accordingly, after advancing a short distance further, he gave the order for his army to halt, and not long after he had taken his ground the insurgent forces appeared in view.

Cope had anticipated that the Highlanders would march to meet him from the west, and accordingly had arranged his front towards that quarter. The reader, however, will remember that the Highland army had adopted a circuitous route, and accordingly, when they suddenly made their appearance to the southward, this unexpected movement entirely disconcerted the plans of the English general. He immediately changed the order of battle, and, moving round his front to the south so as to face the enemy, placed his foot in the centre of the line. Each wing was flanked by a regiment of dragoons and by three pieces of artillery. His right was covered by Colonel Gardiner's park wall, and by the village of Preston; on his left, though at some distance, stood the village of Seaton and the sea; in his rear were the villages of Preston Pans and Cockenzie, and in his front the town of Tranent and the Highland army.

* Home, p. 106.

CHAPTER VII.

Relative Strength of the opposing Armies.—Order of Battle.—Gallant Charge of the Rebels.—Heroic Conduct and Death of Colonel Gardiner.—Total Defeat of the English Forces at Preston Pans.—Conduct of Charles after the Battle.

In point of numbers the two opposing armies were pretty equally matched; that of Charles numbering about two thousand five hundred men; and the force under Cope amounting to about two thousand three hundred. In every other respect, however, the English general had greatly the advantage. Not only was he at the head of regular and well-disciplined troops, but he was also supported by cavalry and artillery, of which the latter, at this period, was held in unusual awe by the rude Highlanders. On the other hand, few if any of the insurgent army had ever been under fire; their cavalry, if such it could be termed, consisted of fifty mounted gentlemen and their retainers; and their artillery comprised a single iron gun, which was of no other service than to be fired as the signal of march, and which one who saw it describes as "a small gun without a carriage, drawn by a little Highland horse." *

Charles, when he commenced his march from

* Home, p. 104.

Duddingstone, had proposed leaving this useless piece of lumber behind him. To his surprise, however, the chieftains interposed in its behalf. Their men, they said, attached so extraordinary a degree of importance to the possession of the "musket's mother," (as cannon was then denominated by them,) that it would probably dispirit them not a little were it left behind, and accordingly it was allowed to encumber them on their march. In addition to these inefficient means for carrying on a successful warfare, it may be mentioned that many of the Highlanders were without fire-arms; that some had only a broadsword, others only a dirk or pistol; and that the only weapon of numbers,—formidable as it afterwards proved,—was the blade of a scythe affixed to the handle of a pitchfork.

It has already been mentioned, that when Charles halted with his forces at Tranent, a distance of scarcely more than half a mile separated the two armies from each other. The ground which divided them consisted of a deep morass, over which it was doubtful whether the Highlanders could be conducted with safety. As the latter expressed the utmost eagerness to be led immediately against the enemy, and as Charles was naturally willing to gratify their impatience, and to take advantage of the fiery enthusiasm of the moment, the question became one which it was of the greatest importance to solve without delay. In this emergency, a gallant officer, Colonel Ker of Gradon, volunteered his services to decide the doubtful point. Mounted on a little white pony, he rode with the utmost coolness over the

ground which separated the two armies, and, apparently utterly regardless of the shots which were fired at him, he carefully and deliberately examined the nature of the ground. Encountering a stone dyke in his way, he quietly dismounted, and having removed a stone or two, he led his horse over it, and calmly continued his survey, to the admiration of his Highland friends. On his return, having pronounced the passage of the morass to be in the highest degree hazardous, if not impracticable, Charles and his friends came to the unpalatable determination of deferring the attack till the following day, and, in the mean time, it was decided that the Highland army should pass the night on the ground.

The night was a cold and frosty one. By Sir John Cope it was passed in cheerful quarters at Cockenzie, but by the unfortunate descendant of Robert Bruce on a bed of peas-straw, and in the open field, surrounded by his humble but devoted retainers. It may be mentioned, that in the course of this day, Charles had dined with the Duke of Perth, and another of his officers, at a small inn in the village of Tranent. Their food consisted only of the coarse kail, or common broth of the country. Two wooden spoons were compelled to suffice for the three; and only a butcher's knife was produced for them to cut their meat, which they were forced to eat with their fingers. The landlady, it is said, being ignorant of their rank, had carefully concealed her pewter, from the fear in which she stood of the predatory habits of the Highlanders.

At night Charles summoned a council of war,

which sat in deliberation till a late hour. It was then unanimously agreed, that notwithstanding the difficulties of their position, an attack should be made at break of day, by passing the morass where it presented the fewest dangers.

There was present at this council a gentleman, Mr. Anderson of Whitburgh, who, from the unromantic circumstance of his having been accustomed to shoot snipes over the surrounding country, was intimately acquainted with its dangers and local peculiarities. Modesty had kept him silent during the debate; but the council had no sooner broken up, than he waited, in the first instance, on Hepburn of Keith, and subsequently on Lord George Murray, whom he found asleep in his quarters,—and communicated to them the important fact, that not only could he enable the Highland army to pass the morass without being exposed to the fire of the enemy, but also without even being seen by them.

To the intelligence afforded by Anderson may perhaps be attributed the successful result of the battle of Preston Pans. He was immediately conducted by Lord George Murray to the presence of Charles, who sat up in his bed of peas-straw, and listened eagerly to the grateful intelligence. The night was now far advanced, but Lochiel and the other chieftains were instantly sent for, and after a short deliberation, it was unanimously agreed that, with Anderson for their guide, an attack should immediately be made on the royal forces. The Highlanders, who were sleeping in clusters around, wrapped in their plaids, were easily aroused, and, unencumbered with baggage or

artillery, commenced their rapid and stealthy march. The night was extremely dark; not a whisper was heard among the mountaineers during their advance; and when the morning at length dawned, they had the satisfaction of finding themselves still concealed from the enemy by a frosty mist. The morass was nearly passed, when their approach was at length discovered by a party of dragoons. The latter, however, contented themselves with firing off their pistols, almost at random, and then galloped off rapidly to communicate the alarm to the main body of the royalists.

It required but a short space of time to array the Highlanders in order of battle, and only a few words to urge them to their accustomed and furious onset. Some delay, indeed, took place, in consequence of the great clan of Macdonald insisting on preferring their claim to form the right of the line. This claim (which was founded principally on a tradition that Robert Bruce had conferred that honour on them at the battle of Bannockburn) was violently contested by the Camerons and Stuart; and it was not till some time had elapsed, that the two latter clans yielded to the personal entreaties of Charles, and reluctantly consented to withdraw their claims. The prince placed himself gallantly at the head of the second line. "Follow me, gentlemen," he said, "and, by the blessing of God, I will this day make you a free and happy people."

Sir John Cope no sooner learned that the Highlanders were on their way to attack him, than he exerted all his energies to prepare for their reception.

He has been accused of having suffered his men to become disheartened by keeping them on the defensive, but with the single exception of this oversight, if so it may be termed, there is no reason for questioning, in a military point of view, either the propriety of the position which he took up, or of the measures which he adopted to ensure success.

The two armies had approached within a short distance of each other, when the morning mist gradually passed away, and revealed to them their respective strength and positions. It was a sight which was calculated to inspirit the one, as much as it was to intimidate the other. Cope, indeed, and his disciplined forces, might well have surveyed with contempt the rude mass which had the audacity to confront him; while the Highlanders had every reason to feel dismay at the sight of the firm front of the British infantry, so proverbially famous in the military annals of England, and at the prospect of encountering the sweeping blast of the dreaded artillery, of which they stood in such extraordinary awe. "Some of the rebel officers," says Home, "have since acknowledged, that when they first saw the King's army, which made a most gallant appearance, both horse and foot, with the sun shining on their arms, and then looked at their own line, which was broken into clumps and clusters, they expected that the Highland army would be defeated in a moment, and swept from the field."*

So rapid had been the advance of the Highlanders, that Sir John Cope had only time to ride once

* Home, p. 18, note.

along the front of his lines, and to address a few words of exhortation to his followers, when, on the mist clearing away, he beheld the clans preparing for the charge. Lord George Murray,—determined that the royalists should have no time to recover from their surprise,—instantly issued the welcome order to his followers to engage. Taking their bonnets from their heads, the Highlanders paused for a moment to utter a brief prayer, and then, once more drawing their bonnets over their brows, they rushed impetuously forward, uniting their famous war-cry with the clamour of the wild and heart-stirring pibroch.

The Camerons were the first who reached the enemy's lines. Rushing forward with headlong rapidity, they fired their pieces as soon as they came within musket-length of their opponents, and then, throwing away their fire-arms, they drew their long swords, and, grasping in their left hands the national dirk and target, they darted forward through the smoke in which they had enveloped themselves. In this manner, many of the Camerons and Stuarts rushed directly against the muzzles of the cannon; and with such effect, that almost instantaneously the whole of the frightened artillery-men were seen flying before them. The dragoons were immediately ordered to advance to their support, but it was only to share the same fate. The Highlanders, previous to the engagement, had been strictly enjoined to aim at the noses of the horses with their swords, it being rightly conjectured that a horse so wounded would immediately wheel about, and thus, it was

hoped, the whole army might be thrown into confusion. These injunctions were implicitly obeyed by the Highlanders. The cavalry made but one charge, and such was the steady and galling fire with which they were received by their opponents, that the former reeled round, and after wavering for a few seconds, were seen galloping in all directions from the field.

No longer supported by artillery, and disheartened by the sight of the flying dragoons, the English infantry showed but little inclination to prolong the conflict. For a moment, indeed, they seemed resolute in maintaining their ancient character for steadiness and endurance, and poured a well-directed fire into the centre of the Highland forces. No sooner, however, did they perceive the large masses of wild Highlanders pouring forward to grapple with them in close combat, than they were overtaken by the same panic which had seized their companions; and, throwing down their arms lest they should impede them in their flight, they fled in the utmost confusion from the field. "Thus," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, who was present in the battle, "in less than five minutes we obtained a complete victory, with a terrible carnage on the part of the enemy. It was gained with such rapidity, that in the second line, where I was by the side of the Prince, not having been able to find Lord George, we saw no other enemy on the field of battle than those who were lying on the ground killed and wounded, though we were not more than fifty paces behind our first line, running always as fast as we could to overtake them,

and near enough never to lose sight of them. The Highlanders made a terrible slaughter of the enemy, particularly at the spot where the road begins to run between the two inclosures, as it was soon stopped up by the fugitives; as also along the walls of the inclosures, where they killed without trouble those who attempted to climb them."*

During the engagement, one good and gallant man, the long-lamented Colonel Gardiner, upheld almost alone the tarnished character of his countrymen. Although he had been twice severely wounded in his attempts to lead his dragoons against the enemy, he still persisted in remaining on the field, and, notwithstanding the pain which he suffered, and his weakness from loss of blood, was seen to lay more than one of the insurgents dead at his feet. The feelings of this high-minded man, on witnessing the disgraceful flight of his companions, may be readily imagined. Deserted by his followers, and left almost alone on the field, he was pausing to consider in what manner his duty to his sovereign required him to act, when he chanced to perceive a small party of the royal infantry, without any officer to command them, fighting gallantly within a few paces of him. "Those brave fellows," he exclaimed, "will be cut to pieces for want of a commander." "Immediately," says his biographer, Dr. Doddridge, "he rode up to them, and cried out aloud,—'Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing!' but just as the words were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened to a long pole, with which he gave

* Chevalier de Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 36.

him such a deep wound on his right arm, that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him, while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off from his horse.

"The moment he fell, another Highlander, whose name was M'Naught, and who was executed about a year after, gave him a stroke, either with a broad-sword or a Lochaber axe, on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw further at that time was, that his hat was fallen off; he took it in his left hand, and waved it as a signal to him to retreat, and added,—(which were the last words he ever heard him speak) —'Take care of yourself:' upon which the servant retired, and immediately fled to a mill, at the distance of about two miles from the spot of ground on which the Colonel fell, where he changed his dress, and, disguised like a miller's servant, returned with a cart as soon as possible, which was not till near two hours after the engagement.

"The hurry of the action was then pretty well over, and he found his much-honoured master, not only plundered of his watch and other things of value, but also stripped of his upper garments and boots, yet still breathing; and though not capable of speech, yet, on taking him up, he opened his eyes, which makes it something questionable whether he were altogether insensible. In this condition, and in this manner, he conveyed him to the church of Tranent, from whence he was immediately taken into the minister's house, and laid in bed, where he continued breathing and

frequently groaning till about eleven in the forenoon, when he took his final leave of pain and sorrow, and undoubtedly rose to those distinguished glories which are reserved for those who have been so eminently and remarkably faithful unto death.

"The remains of this Christian hero were interred the Tuesday following, September 24, at the parish church of Tranent, where he had usually attended divine service, with great solemnity. His obsequies were honoured with the presence of some persons of distinction, who were not afraid of paying that last piece of respect to his memory, though the country was then in the hands of the enemy."*

Nothing could be more complete than the victory obtained by Charles at Preston Pans. Not only did the greater number of the enemy's standards, and the whole of their artillery, fall into the hands of the insurgents, but they obtained possession also of the military chest, containing about 2500*l*. Their loss, also, on the field of battle was inconsiderable; the slain numbering only three officers and thirty common men, and not more than seventy or eighty being wounded. The greater number of the wounded of both armies were conveyed to the neighbouring residence of the ill-fated Colonel Gardiner, where, it is said, the dark

* Doddridge's Life of Colonel Gardiner. "A large thorn-tree, in the centre of the battle-ground, marks the spot where Gardiner fell. He was buried in the north-west corner of the church of Tranent, where eight of his children had been previously interred. Some years ago, on the memorable mould being incidentally disturbed, his head was found marked by the stroke of the scythe which dispatched him, and still adhered to by his military *club*, which, bound firmly with silk, and dressed with powder and pomatum, seemed as fresh as it could have been on the day he died."—*Chambers*, p. 37.

outlines of the forms of the tartaned warriors, caused by their bloody garments, may still be traced on the oaken floors of that interesting mansion.* Of the royal army, only one hundred and seventy of the infantry escaped; about four hundred fell in the field of battle or in the subsequent pursuit, and the remainder were taken prisoners.

The dragoons, whose cowardice may perhaps be considered as the primary cause of the loss of the battle of Preston by the royalists, met — owing to the insurgents having no cavalry with which to pursue them — with a far better fate than they deserved. Flying in all directions, the majority eventually took the road to Coldstream, near which town they were with difficulty rallied by Sir John Cope, with the assistance of the Earls of Loudon and Home. So excessive were their fears, that when once or twice they were induced to halt during their flight, their ears no sooner caught the shouts of the dreaded Highlanders or the distant sound of an occasional musket-shot, than they again galloped off in the utmost terror and confusion. Only a small party of the craven dragoons took the road to Edinburgh, and, passing in full gallop up the High Street, never paused for a moment till they found themselves at the gates of the Castle. Here they met with the reception which they deserved: the Governor not only refused to admit them, but added, that if they did not immediately take their departure, he would open the guns upon them as cowards who had deserted their colours.

* Chambers, p. 37.

No words, indeed, could exaggerate the overwhelming and unaccountable panic which seized the royal army. "They threw down their arms," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "that they might run with more speed; thus depriving themselves by their fears of the only means of arresting the vengeance of the Highlanders. Of so many men, in a condition, from their numbers, to preserve order in their retreat, not one thought of defending himself. Terror had taken entire possession of their minds. I saw a young Highlander, about fourteen years of age, scarcely formed, who was presented to the Prince as a prodigy, having killed, it was said, fourteen of the enemy. The Prince asked him if this was true? 'I do not know,' replied he, 'if I killed them; but I brought fourteen soldiers to the ground with my sword.' Another Highlander brought ten soldiers to the Prince, whom he had made prisoners, driving them before him like a flock of sheep. This Highlander, from a rashness without example, having pursued a party to some distance from the field of battle, along the road between the two inclosures, struck down the hindermost with a blow of his sword, calling at the same time, 'Down with your arms!' The soldiers, terror-struck, threw down their arms without looking behind them; and the Highlander, with a pistol in one hand and a sword in the other, made them do exactly as he pleased. The rage and despair of these men, on seeing themselves made prisoners by a single individual, may be easily imagined. These were, however, the same English soldiers who had distinguished themselves at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and

who might justly be ranked amongst the bravest troops of Europe."* It may be mentioned that Sir John Cope, in consequence of his adopting the expedient of wearing the white cockade,† passed unharmed and unquestioned through the midst of the Highland clans, and was the first to carry to England the news of his own defeat.

The moderation and humanity displayed by Charles (not only after the battle of Preston Pans, but also on every subsequent occasion on which he found himself a victor) have not only been freely admitted even by his enemies, but, moreover, present a pleasing and redeeming contrast to the frightful barbarities which, at a later period, were so wantonly exercised by the "butcher" Duke of Cumberland after the battle of Culloden. After the battle of Preston Pans,—when one of the Prince's followers congratulated him on the victory which he had obtained, and, pointing to the field of battle, exclaimed, "Sir, there are your enemies at your feet!"—Charles is said not only to have refrained from joining in the exultation of the moment, but to have warmly expressed the sincerest compassion for those whom he termed "his father's deluded subjects." Previous to the battle, he had strongly exhorted his followers to adopt the side of mercy; and when the victory was gained, his first thoughts were for the unhappy sufferers, and his first hours employed in providing for the comfort of his wounded adversaries as well as his friends. His exhortations and example produced the happiest effects. In the words of one of his gallant fol-

* Chevalier de Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 39. † Ibid. p. 38.

lowers,—"Not only did I often hear our common clansmen ask the soldiers if they wanted quarter, and not only did we, the officers, exert our utmost pains to save those who were stubborn or who could not make themselves understood, but I saw some of our private men, after the battle, run to Port Seton for ale and other liquors to support the wounded. As one proof for all, of my own particular observation, I saw a Highlander, carefully and with patient kindness, carry a poor wounded soldier on his back into a house, where he left him with a sixpence to pay his charges. In all this we followed not only the dictates of humanity, but also the orders of our Prince, who acted in everything as the true father of his country."*

Of the conduct of Charles immediately after his victory at Preston Pans, some other and interesting traits have been recorded. After the pursuit was at an end, finding himself accidentally at the head of the clan Macgregor,—"The Prince," says Duncan Macpharig,—"came up, and successively took Glencairnaig and Major Evan in his arms, congratulating them upon the result of the fight. He then commanded the whole of the clan Gregor to be collected in the middle of the field; and, a table being covered, he sat down with Glencairnaig and Major Evan to refresh himself, all the rest standing round as a guard, and each receiving a glass of wine and a little bread." Andrew Henderson also observes,—"I saw the Chevalier, after the battle, standing by his horse, dressed like an ordinary captain, in a coarse plaid and large blue bonnet, with a narrow plain

* Lockhart Papers.

gold lace about it, his boots and knees much dirtied, the effects of his having fallen in a ditch. He was "exceedingly merry, and twice cried out with a hearty laugh,—'My Highlanders have lost their plaids!' After this, he refreshed himself upon the field, and with the greatest composure eat a slice of cold beef, and drank a glass of wine." Having concluded the labours and duties of the day, Charles proceeded on horseback to Pinkie House, the seat of the Marquis of Tweeddale, where he passed the night.

The victory of Preston Pans, or, as it was designated by the Highlanders, of Gladsmuir, rendered the young adventurer for a season almost the undisputed master of Scotland. It produced, moreover, the desired effect of raising the reputation of his arms, and of inducing many among his wavering and cautious partisans to declare themselves openly in his favour. By the Jacobites, the tidings of this decisive victory were everywhere received with the most extravagant outbreakings of triumph and joy. Blessings, even from the pulpit, were publicly invoked on the head of the young hero; and the Jacobite gentlemen, no longer giving utterance to their treasonable toasts in language of safe and doubtful import, quaffed deeply and enthusiastically to the health of their young and beloved Prince, who, in the words of one of their own convivial sentiments, "could eat a dry crust, sleep on peas-straw, take his dinner in four minutes, and win a battle in five."

It was only three hours after the victory, that the Camerons re-entered Edinburgh to the exhilarating sound of their own bagpipes, and bearing with

them in proud triumph the standards which they had wrested from the recreant dragoons. The remainder of the clans delayed their return till the following day, when they marched into the northern capital in long military array, parading through the principal streets to the favourite Jacobite air,— "The King shall enjoy his own again." Their wild appearance, their picturesque dresses, the number of their prisoners, and the quantity of captured artillery and baggage which brought up the rear, added to the variety of standards which floated in the air, — comprising the colours of their respective chieftains as well as those which had been captured from the royal army,—rendered it a sight so remarkable and imposing, as not easily to be forgotten either by the adherents of the Government, or by the delighted partisans of the House of Stuart. As the Highlanders passed through the streets of Edinburgh, some of them, in the excess of their triumphant feelings, amused themselves with firing their muskets in the air. It happened that one of them had incautiously loaded his piece with ball, which, passing over the heads of the crowd, grazed the forehead of a Miss Nairn, a devoted Jacobite, who was at the moment waving her handkerchief from one of the adjacent balconies. The young lady was stunned for a few moments, but on recovering her senses, her first words were those of thankfulness, not so much for her life having been preserved, but that the darling cause of her adoption stood no risk of being injured by the circumstance. "Thank God," she said, "that

the accident has happened to me, whose principles are known! had it befallen a Whig, they would have said it was done on purpose."

In the course of the evening of this day, Charles returned to Holyrood House, in his progress to which place he was followed, according to the Caledonian Mercury, "by the loudest acclamations of the people." This fact is corroborated by the testimony of the Chevalier de Johnstone. "The Prince," he says, "returned to Edinburgh, where he was received with the loudest acclamations of the populace, who are always," adds the Chevalier significantly, "equally inconstant in every country of the world."

The return of Charles to Edinburgh was followed by the issue of several important proclamations. In one of these, qualified by certain provisos, he granted a general amnesty for all treasons, rebellions, or offences whatever, which had been committed against him or his predecessors, since the abdication of his grandfather, James the Second, in 1688. In another, he issued a promise of protection, both to the inhabitants of Edinburgh and to the country people, "from all insults, seizures, injuries, and abuses," on the part of his followers; and in a third proclamation,—alluding to a strong wish that had been expressed by many of his friends, that he should celebrate his recent victory by public rejoicings,—he strongly deprecated a show of triumph, which, he said, had been purchased at the expense of the blood of his father's subjects. How much is it to be regretted, that this generous and noble example of forbearance was not followed by George the Se-

cond, or rather his butcher son, the Duke of Cumberland, when the latter found himself a victor on the field of Culloden! "In so far," proceeds the manifesto of Charles, "as the late victory has been obtained by the effusion of the blood of his Majesty's subjects, and has involved many unfortunate people in great calamity, we hereby forbid any outward demonstrations of public joy; admonishing all true friends to their King and country, to return thanks to God for his goodness towards them, as we hereby do for ourselves."

The fact is an indisputable one, that, during his brief career of triumph, Charles never missed the opportunity of taking the side of mercy, and on all occasions showed the strongest disposition to make allowances for his adversaries, and to commiserate and forgive. Considering the rancour which has ever proverbially been the characteristic of civil contests, there is, perhaps, in the page of history, no instance in which a young Prince, flushed with success and victory, has displayed more praiseworthy forbearance and humanity. Those even who were most violently opposed to his principles and to his cause, did justice to the excellent qualities of his heart, uniting gracefully as they did with his gallantry on the field of battle, and with the charm of his personal demeanour and address. "Every body," says Maxwell of Kirkconnel, in his memoir of the campaign, "was mightily taken with the Prince's figure and personal behaviour. There was but one voice about them. Those whom interest or prejudice made a runaway to his cause, could not help acknow-

ledging that they wished him well in all other respects, and could hardly blame him for his present undertaking. Sundry things had concurred to raise his character to the highest pitch, besides the greatness of the enterprise, and the conduct that had hitherto appeared in the execution of it. There were several instances of good nature and humanity, that made a great impression on people's minds."

CHAPTER VIII.

Pusillanimous Conduct of the Clergy.—Proclamation of Charles inviting them to return to their Duties.—Daily Courts at Holyrood.—Balls.—Charles's desire to march into England counteracted by his Chiefs.—Their reluctant Consent to accompany him.

THE conduct of the Scottish clergy, when they found themselves subjected for a time to the temporal rule of Charles and his Highland chieftains, has been strongly and deservedly reprehended. With a pusillanimity for which they were afterwards severely censured even by their own friends, they persisted in absenting themselves altogether from the performance of their religious duties,—a circumstance which, though it seems to have been the result merely of individual timidity, yet had very nearly the effect of being as detrimental to the cause of the adventurer, as if it had resulted from a deliberate policy.

On the part of the adherents of the Stuarts, there was certainly no slight ground for fearing that the example set by the Presbyterian clergy in Edinburgh might produce a disagreeable effect on the minds of their respective congregations. No one, indeed, knew better than Charles himself, that the battle which he had to fight, both in Scotland and England, was not so much against the military legions of the House of Hanover, as against the prejudices which attached

to his cause from the recollection of the overweening bigotry of his grandfather, James the Second, to whom, when compared with his object of enslaving the religious principles of his subjects, the loss of three crowns had appeared light in the scale. In Scotland, more especially, the name of James the Second, ever since the Revolution of 1688, had invariably been denounced from the pulpit as the bugbear of Protestantism; and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that his descendants, who unfortunately inherited from him the same religious principles, should have shared the stigma which had so long attached itself to the dreaded bigotry of their predecessor.

Whether Charles Edward, had he succeeded in establishing himself on the throne of his ancestors, would have proved himself sincere in his professions of securing to his subjects that religious toleration which (in the halcyon days when he was a candidate for their suffrages and support) he had so freely promised them, may perhaps be doubted, but of course can never be proved. During the brief annals of the reign of James the Second, England had learned a lesson, which it might still be fatal for her to forget; neither can it be doubted,—so long, at least, as the Roman Catholic clergy continues sedulously to insinuate its wily and ambitious policy alike into the closets of Kings and the cottages of the poor,—that it would be dangerous to entrust the liberties of a free and great people to a monarch who, under the domineering influence of an intriguing priesthood, might be induced to renew the insane

and tyrannical line of policy which was enacted by the second James. That such was the opinion of the great majority of the people of England, no one was more fully aware than the Prince himself, nor how important it was that the public mind should be disabused of the idea that he was treading in the steps of his grandfather. As a first step, therefore, towards accomplishing this object, it was deemed of the utmost consequence that the Presbyterian clergy should be induced to return to the discharge of their religious duties, lest their absence from their respective pulpits might be ingeniously construed into an act of oppression and intolerance on the part of the Prince.

Charles, therefore, issued a solemn proclamation, in which he invited the Presbyterian clergy to resume the performance of public worship in their respective churches; promising them that they should receive no interruption in the fulfilment of their duties, but, on the contrary, that they should be upheld by his protection and support. The proclamation concluded;—"If, notwithstanding hereof, any shall be found neglecting their duty in that particular, let the blame lie entirely at their own door, as we are resolved to inflict no penalty that may possibly look like persecution." Again, in another proclamation of a similar character, the Prince affirms it to be the solemn intention of the King, his father, to reinstate all his subjects in the full enjoyment of their religion, laws, and liberties. "Our present attempt," he says, "is not undertaken in order to enslave a free people, but to address and remove the encroachments made

upon them; not to impose upon any a religion which they dislike, but to secure them all in the enjoyment of those which are respectively at present established amongst them, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland."

Notwithstanding, however, these repeated exhortations, the clergy still persisted in absenting themselves from their religious duties; and only one of their body, by name Macvicar,—notwithstanding many of the Highlanders were in the habit of forming a part of his congregation,—continued, not only to preach as usual, but even was bold enough to pray openly for King George. His loyalty, however, was usually clothed in language of dubious, though significant import. "Bless the King," was one of his prayers, —"thou knowest what King I mean; and may the crown sit long easy on his head: and for the man that is come among us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech thee in mercy take him to thyself, and give him a crown of glory."

Of the habits of Charles during the brief period that he held his court in the ancient palace of Holyrood, some interesting particulars have been handed down to us. "In order," says Home, "to carry on business with the appearance of royalty, he appointed a council to meet in Holyrood House every day at ten o'clock." This council consisted of the two lieutenant-generals, the Duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray; the quarter-master-general, O'Sullivan; Lord Elcho, colonel of the Prince's horseguards; Secretary Murray, Lords Ogilvie, Pitsligo, Nairn, and Lewis Gordon, brother of the Duke of Gordon, Sir Thomas

Sheridan, and all the Highland chiefs. "When the council rose," says Home, "which often sat very long, — for his councillors frequently differed in opinion with one another, and sometimes with him,—Charles dined in public with his principal officers. After dinner he rode out with his lifeguards, and usually went to Duddingstone, where his army lay. In the evening he returned to Holyrood House, and received the ladies who came to his drawing-room; he then supped in public, and generally there was music at supper, and a ball afterwards."*

An Englishman, who was sent about this period from York to Edinburgh, to be a spy upon the Prince's actions, has left us some additional particulars relating to the habits of Charles during the time he held his court at Holyrood. "I was introduced to him," he says, "on the 17th, [October,] when he asked me several questions as to the number of the troops, and the affections of the people of England. The audience lasted for a quarter of an hour, and took place in the presence of two other persons. The young Chevalier is about five feet eleven inches high, very proportionably made, wears his own hair, has a full forehead, a small but lively eye, a round brown-complexioned face; nose and mouth pretty small; full under the chin; not a long neck; under his jaw a pretty many pimples. He is always in a Highland habit, as are all about him. When I saw him, he had a short Highland plaid (*tartan*) waistcoat; breeches of the same; a blue garter on, and a St. Andrew's cross hanging by a green ribbon at his

* Home, p. 139.

button-hole; but no star. He had his boots on, as he always has. He dines every day in public. All sorts of people are permitted to see him then. He constantly practises all the arts of condescension and popularity; talks familiarly to the meanest Highlanders, and makes them very fair promises."*

At his balls, which were held in the long gallery at Holyrood, Charles, we are told, was usually dressed with great care and elegance, "in a habit of fine silk tartan, with crimson velvet breeches, and at other times in an English court dress, with the ribbon, star, and order of the garter." The balls given by Charles at Holyrood, are described as having been unusually gay and splendid: of the ladies of rank, however, who attended them, if we except the Duchess of Perth and Lady Pitsligo, there is no particular record.

Mention has already been made, that by far the majority of the women of Scotland were enthusiastically devoted to the cause of the young and gallant Prince. Dazzled by the romance of the enterprise which he had so boldly undertaken, and so bravely conducted; captivated by his polished manners, his insinuating address and handsome person, his high birth, and that grace and propriety for which he was so eminently distinguished, the women of Scotland gave him their suffrages and their prayers; and on many occasions, by inducing their lovers, and sometimes their husbands and brothers, to declare themselves in his favour, appear to have done essential service to his cause.

* Chambers, p. 41. From a MS. in the possession of the late George Chalmers, Esq., given in his Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 717.

As an instance corroborative of this fact, may be mentioned the case of a Miss Lumsden, who prevailed upon her lover, Robert Strange, afterwards the celebrated line-engraver, to join the standard of the Prince, on condition that he might hereafter claim her hand. Yielding to the entreaties of his mistress, he fortunately survived the dangers of the enterprise, and was subsequently made happy by receiving the promised reward. In the best families in Scotland, the ladies were seen decorated with white ribbons, and with the celebrated white cockade, in honour of the young and handsome hero. Thousands, who were possessed of jewels and other female ornaments, willingly sold or pledged them to relieve him in his pecuniary difficulties; while those to whom fortune had behaved more niggardly, yielded to him at least their warmest wishes in the days of his prosperity, and their tears in the hour of his distress. Even the pensive and melancholy look—which, as in the case of his great-grandfather Charles the First, is said to have been the characteristic expression of his countenance even among the gayest scenes, — increased, if possible, the deep interest with which he was regarded by the fair ladies of the North.

There was another class of persons to whose influence and attachment to his cause Charles was scarcely less indebted than to that of the fair sex. We allude to the national poets of Scotland, if so they may be styled, who,—by those pathetic and heart-stirring melodies which, when listened to even at the present day, still bring a tear to the eye, and awake romance in the heart, — threw a magic charm over

the cause of the unfortunate Stuarts, and assisted, in a considerable degree, in inflaming the spirit of popular enthusiasm which already prevailed on their behalf.

Charles, on his part, actuated partly perhaps by motives of deep policy, and partly by a feeling of gratitude to those who had risked everything in his cause, missed no opportunity of flattering the prejudices of the Scottish people, and rendering himself the object of their love. He was either delighted, or pretended to be, with everything national in, or peculiar to, Scotland. At the balls at Holyrood, he was careful to call alternately for Highland and Lowland tunes, taking care to give no particular preference to either. He accommodated himself indifferently to all ages and to all ranks. He could be gallant with the fair, lively with the young, and grave with the old. At one hour of the day he was seen conversing familiarly with the humblest of his Highland followers at his camp at Duddingstone; at another he was engaged in deliberating in solemn council with his principal officers; and at night he was seen leading the dance, and dallying with the fair dames of Edinburgh in the old halls at Holyrood.

Such was the "bonnie Prince Charlie" of Scottish song; and when we remember the circumstances of his romantic expedition, and his own personal graces and accomplishments, can we wonder that a nation,—so prudent, it may be, as the Scotch, but still so proverbially affectionate to their kindred,—should have forgotten for a season their allegiance to their Ger-

man masters, who ruled them with feelings of equal indifference from their palace at St. James's, or from their still more distant and more favourite retreat at Herenhausen? Can we wonder that the greater portion of the Scottish nation should have hailed with affectionate pleasure the appearance of the representative of their ancient kings? — that they should have been flattered and gratified by his identifying himself with their prejudices, and sedulously courting their esteem? — that they should have been pleased at seeing their palaces, so long deserted by royalty, again becoming the scenes of the splendid and courtly hospitality of former days? — and, in a word, — animated as they were by the most generous feelings of admiration, compassion, and national pride, — can we be surprised that they should have yielded up their homage and love, almost unconditionally as it were, to the lineal and gallant descendant of Robert Bruce?

Another circumstance which tended to swell the ranks of Charles, and to render his cause a popular one, was the proclamation issued by him on the 10th of October. The credit of having drawn up this remarkable document has been given to Sir Thomas Sheridan and Sir James Stewart:* there seems,

* Evidence of Murray, of Broughton, in his secret examination, August 13, 1746. Sir James Stewart, of Goostrees, was the author of the celebrated "Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy," the result of the labour and research of eighteen years. He had formed an intimacy with Charles on the continent, and joined the Prince's standard shortly after his arrival at Edinburgh. After the battle of Culloden, he was fortunate enough to effect his escape to France; taking up his residence in the first instance at Sedan, and afterwards in Flanders. In

however, to be little doubt, from the resemblance which the language bears to the style of Charles's private letters, that it received several important touches from his pen, if it was not entirely his own composition. After dwelling on the misfortunes which had befallen the country, and Scotland in particular, in consequence of the misrule of the House of Hanover, and after explaining his own and his father's views as to the manner in which existing religious and political grievances ought to be remedied, Charles thus forcibly concludes his spirited exhortation: — "Is not my royal father," he says, "represented as a bloodthirsty tyrant, breathing out nothing but destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious religion? Or have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth. I with my own money hired a vessel, ill-provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrived in Scotland attended by seven persons; I publish the King my father's declaration, and proclaim his title with pardon in one hand and in the other liberty of conscience, and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free Parliament shall propose for the happiness of the people. I have, I confess, the greatest reason to adore the goodness of Almighty God, who has in so remarkable a manner protected me and my small army through the many dangers to which we were at first exposed, and who has led me in the way to victory, and to the capital of this ancient king-

1763, having received an assurance that he should not be molested by the Government, he returned to Scotland, where he died in November 1780, at the age of sixty-seven.

dom, amidst the acclamations of the King my father's subjects. As to the outcries formerly raised against the royal family, whatever miscarriages might have given occasion for them have been more than atoned for since, and the nation has now an opportunity of being secured against the like for the future. That our family has suffered exile during these fifty-seven years everybody knows. Has the nation during that period of time been the more happy and flourishing? Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family, upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful Prince, retained a due sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you found more humanity and condescension in those who were not born to a crown, than in my royal forefathers? Have they, or do they, consider only the interest of these nations? Have you reaped any other benefit from them than an immense load of debts? If I am answered in the affirmative, why has their Government been so often railed at in all your public assemblies? why has the nation been so long crying out for redress?

"The fears of the nation from the powers of France and Spain appear still more vain and groundless. My expedition was undertaken unsupported by either. But, indeed, when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me; and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his government against the King's subjects, is it not high time for the King my father to accept also of assistance?

Who has the better chance to be independent of foreign powers,—he who, with the aid of his own subjects, can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder—or he who cannot, without assistance from abroad, support his government, though established by all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force, against the undisciplined part of those he has ruled over for so many years? Let him, if he pleases, try the experiment: let him send off his foreign hirelings, and put all upon the issue of a battle, and I will trust only to the King my father's subjects."

During his stay at Edinburgh, several of the Lowland gentlemen joined the standard of the Prince. Among these were Lord Ogilvie, eldest son of the Earl of Airly, at the head of four hundred followers, and Lord Pitsligo with about one hundred and twenty. The accession of the latter nobleman was of great importance to Charles. Lord Pitsligo was, indeed, far advanced in years; but not only, from his high sense of honour, and the charm of his personal character, had he won for himself as much love and influence in the Lowlands as Lochiel had obtained in the Highlands, but also, from his almost proverbial reputation for wariness, prudence, and strong sense, he was the occasion of his example being followed by many of his Lowland neighbours who had taught themselves to believe that any act of Lord Pitsligo's must infallibly be right. "This peer," says Home, "who drew after him such a number of gentlemen, had only a moderate fortune; but he was much beloved and greatly esteemed by his neighbours, who looked upon

him as a man of excellent judgment, and of a wary and cautious temper; so that when he, who was deemed so wise and prudent, declared his purpose of joining Charles, most of the gentlemen in that part of the country where he lived, who favoured the Pretender's cause, put themselves under his command, thinking they could not follow a better or a safer guide than Lord Pitsligo."* Dr. King, also, who was well acquainted with Lord Pitsligo, observes, — "I always observed him ready to defend any other person who was ill-spoken of in his company. If the person accused were of his acquaintance, my Lord Pitsligo would always find something good to say of him as a counterpoise. If he were a stranger, and quite unknown to him, my lord would urge in his defence the general corruption of manners, and the frailties and infirmities of human nature."†

While at Edinburgh, also, Charles was joined by General Gordon of Glenbucket with four hundred followers from the highlands of Aberdeenshire, and by Macpherson of Cluny with three hundred of his clan. Every effort and exertion was made by Charles and the leading chieftains to organize and discipline the insurgent army. Two troops of cavalry were enrolled with the utmost expedition; one of which was placed under the command of Lord Elcho, and the other entrusted to Lord Balmerino. A troop of horse-grenadiers was also enrolled, which was placed under the command of the unfortunate Lord Kilmarnock. The Prince paid a visit to his camp at

* Home's History of the Rebellion, p. 129.

† Anecdotes of his own Time, p. 145.

Duddingstone nearly every day, for the purpose of reviewing or exercising his troops, and not unfrequently slept in the camp without taking off his clothes.*

It had been the darling wish of Charles, after obtaining his victory at Preston Pans, to march at once into England, where he hoped to be immediately joined by many of the most influential among the English Jacobites, and by their means be enabled to follow up his recent success by a still more decisive blow. To have adopted this measure, however, under existing circumstances, and with his present inefficient means, would have amounted pretty nearly to an act of insanity. Already the royal forces, under the command of Field-marshal Wade, were making head at Doncaster; and, moreover, many of the Prince's own followers had returned to their native mountains, in order, as was their custom, to deposit their booty with their families. Charles, also, had yet to be joined by many of the most powerful of the Highland chieftains, whose arrival at the head of their respective vassals he was anxiously expecting; and, moreover, had he marched at once into England, he must have abandoned all hope of receiving some important supplies of money and ammunition, which he trusted would be sent to him in a short time by the French Government, and which could only be landed with safety at Montrose, Dun-

* "The Prince's tent has been erected in the camp near Duddingstone, where his Royal Highness lies every night, wrapped up in his Highland plaid. He takes the utmost pleasure in reviewing his people, and is highly beloved by them. There was yesterday a general review."—*Edinburgh Mercury*, Monday, September 30.

dee, or some other of the north-eastern ports of Scotland.

At length, however, the hour arrived when Charles rightly judged that to remain any longer in supineness in Edinburgh,—while Marshal Wade was rapidly concentrating a superior and perhaps overwhelming force, — must inevitably lead to fatal results. We have seen that, since the battle of Preston Pans, the Prince had been joined by fresh and considerable accessions of strength both from the Highlands and Lowlands. Already the powerful clan of the Frasers was taking the field under the Master of Lovat, and in Aberdeenshire the Gordons were being raised by Lord Lewis Gordon, brother of the Duke.* In point of supplies also, both of ammunition and money, the Prince's resources had been greatly augmented. From the city of Glasgow he had exacted the sum of 5000*l.*, and from Edinburgh he had obtained one thousand tents, and six thousand pair of shoes, besides various other useful articles for the service of his army. The public revenues and the King's rents had been levied in every part of Scotland where it was practicable;—

* "Yesternight, the Right Honourable Lord Lewis Gordon, third son of the deceased Alexander Duke of Gordon, came and kissed the Prince's hand, and joined his Royal Highness's standard. His lordship was some time an officer in the Navy. The court, which was very numerous and splendid, seemed in great joy on this occasion, as several gentlemen, not only of the name of Gordon, but many others in the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, and Murray, who had declined joining the Prince's standard, unless some one or other of the sons of the illustrious house of Gordon was to head them, will now readily come up and join the army."—*Edinburgh Mercury*, October 16, 1745. Lord Lewis Gordon was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, 1st of August, 1744, and his name appears on the List of the Navy till the month of June, 1746. He was attainted for his share in the Rebellion, and died unmarried in 1754.

the goods were seized in the custom-houses at Leith and at other ports, and immediately converted into money;—by a French ship, which arrived at Montrose, he received 5000*l.*, and more recently three more ships had appeared off the north-eastern coast, which brought him the additional sum of 1000*l.*; besides five thousand stand of arms, a train of six field-pieces, and several French and Irish officers.

Notwithstanding the improved condition of the Prince's affairs, the Highland chieftains displayed a singular and obstinate reluctance to be led into England. In vain did Charles argue on the absolute necessity of giving battle to Marshal Wade, before the latter could concentrate a still superior force; in vain did he insist that they had thrown away the scabbard; that all their hopes depended upon immediate action; that passiveness would be construed into pusillanimity; and that, though they might at present boast of being masters of Scotland, yet that the tenure even of that country, which contained all that they held dear in life, depended upon their also making themselves masters of England. Three several councils were summoned by Charles for the purpose of deliberating on this important question, and on each occasion he found himself vehemently opposed by the Highland chieftains. It ought to be the Prince's chief object, they said, to endeavour, by every possible means, to secure himself in the government of his ancient kingdom, and to defend himself against the armies of England, without attempting for the present to extend his views to that country. "This," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "was the advice which every

one gave the Prince, and, if he had followed it, he might still perhaps have been in possession of that kingdom. By thus fomenting," adds the Chevalier, "the natural hatred and animosity which the Scots have in all times manifested against the English, the war would have become national, and this would have been a most fortunate circumstance for the Prince."* Such were the vain and absurd arguments insisted upon by the Highland chieftains;—as if it were possible that Scotland,—with almost all her civil and military officers in favour of the House of Hanover; with a great portion of her Lowland population prejudiced on behalf of that family; and with the armies of England and her allies arrayed against her,—could have held out beyond one or two unprofitable campaigns among the rugged fastnesses of the Highlands. Disgusted with this repeated opposition to his dearest wishes, Charles at length betrayed himself into a peremptoriness of language and manner, which, according to Lord Elcho, he gave vent to on more occasions than one, when violently opposed by his council.†

* Chevalier de Johnstone's Memoirs, pp. 45, 46.

† "The Prince," says Lord Elcho, "used, in council, always first to declare what he himself was for, and then he asked everybody's opinion in their turn. There was one-third of the council, whose principles were that kings and princes can never either act or think wrong; so, in consequence, they always confirmed what the Prince said. The other two-thirds, (who thought that kings and princes were sometimes like other men, and were not altogether infallible, and that this Prince was no more so than others,) begged leave to differ from him, when they could give sufficient reasons for their difference of opinion. This very often was no difficult matter to do; for as the Prince and his old governor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, were altogether ignorant of the ways and customs of Great Britain, and both much for the doctrine of absolute monarchy, they would very often, had they not been prevented, have fallen into

"I see, gentlemen," he exclaimed, "that you are determined to stay in Scotland, and defend your country; but I am not the less resolved to try my fate in England, though I should go *alone*." Charles, young as he was, had obtained a deep insight into human nature; and this speech, more than any other circumstance, is said to have shamed the chiefs into a reluctant concession, and accordingly a march across the border was at length definitively agreed upon.

blunders which might have hurt the cause. The Prince could not bear to hear anybody differ in sentiment from him, and took a dislike to everybody that did; for he had a notion of commanding the army as any general does a body of mercenaries, and so let them know only what he pleased, and expected them to obey without inquiring farther about the matter." It is but fair to remind the reader, that the above was written by Lord Elcho after he had had a violent quarrel with the Prince, and when his feelings were probably coloured by his dislike.

CHAPTER IX.

The Pretender's March into England.—Strength of his Army.—Arrival at Carlisle.—Courageous Conduct of Sergeant Dickson.—Arrival at Manchester.—Mrs. Skyring presents her Purse to the Chevalier.—His Arrival at Derby.—The Duke of Cumberland's Army only Nine Miles distant from the Rebels.

ON the 31st of October, at six o'clock in the evening, Charles bade farewell to the ancient capital of Scotland, and the palace of his ancestors, and departed on his memorable expedition into England. At the head of his guards, and of Lord Pitsligo's regiment of horse, he proceeded to Pinkie House, where he passed the night. The next day, at noon, he rode to Dalkeith, where he was joined by the great body of his troops, which, at this period, are computed by Home and the best authorities to have amounted to about five thousand six hundred men.*

* The following statement of the numbers of the Highland army is given in "The Life of the Duke of Cumberland," 8vo. London, 1767.

CLAN REGIMENTS AND THEIR COMMANDERS.

Lochiel	Cameron of Lochiel	700
Appin	Stuart of Ardshiel	200
Clanranald	Macdonald of Clanranald	300
Keppoch	Macdonald of Keppoch	200
Kinloch Moidart	Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart	100
Glencoë	Macdonald of Glencoe	120
Macinnon	Macinnon of Macinnon	120

They were, generally speaking, well clothed, and well furnished with arms. Proper precautions had been taken for the transfer of their baggage, by means of waggons and sumpter horses, and they carried with them provisions for four days.

On the 1st of November, a large detachment of the Highland army commenced its march, by way of Peebles and Moffat, to Carlisle. Charles himself remained behind till the 3rd of the month; passing the two intervening nights at the palace Dalkeith. On the morning of that day, he commenced his march at the head of the remainder of his troops. Passing by Prestonhall Gate he was informed that the Duchess of Gordon, who resided in the immediate neighbourhood, had ordered a breakfast to be prepared for him and his suite,—a pleasing compliment, but for which act of hospitality she is said to

Macpherson	Macpherson of Cluny	120
Glengary	Macdonell of Glengary	300
Glenbucket	Gordon of Glenbucket	300
Maclauchlan	Maclauchlan of that ilk	200
Struan	Robertson of Struan	200
Glenmoriston	Grant of Glenmoriston	100
		2960

LOWLAND REGIMENTS.

Athol	Lord George Murray	600
Ogilvie	Lord Ogilvie, Angus men	900
Perth	Duke of Perth	700
Nairn	Lord Nairn	200
Edinburgh	Roy Stuart	450

HORSE.

Lord Elcho and Lord Balmerino		120
Lord Pitsligo		80
Earl of Kilmarnock		60

have lost a pension of 1000*l.* a-year, which had been conferred upon her in consideration of her having brought up her children in the principles of the Protestant religion.* A compliment of a similar character was paid to him on passing Fala Dams, where the ladies of Whitborough, sisters of one of his most valued adherents, Robert Anderson, had prepared a banquet for him and his suite in the open air. Previous to his departure, a touching request was made to him by the ladies for some trifling bequest, which they might hereafter exhibit as having been presented to them by the gallant hero of 1745. Accordingly Charles cut for them a piece of velvet from the hilt of his sword; a relic which is said to be still preserved at Whitborough with religious care.†

On the 5th of November the Highland army arrived at Kelso, where they halted two days, and from thence proceeded in a direct route to Jedburgh. As Charles marched along at the head of his troops, he is said to have been received by marks of the most gratifying devotion by the Lowland inhabitants, but more especially by the women, who frequently ran out of their houses to snatch a kiss of his hand.‡

* Chambers, p. 49. † Ibid., p. 50.

‡ "An old man, who died lately at Jedburgh, remembered having witnessed the departure of the insurgents from his native town. After the Prince had crossed the bridge, and was clear of the town, he rode back to see that none of his men had remained behind; and, on ascertaining that fact, galloped after the column, which he overtook at a little distance from the town. When the author was at Jedburgh, in November 1826, he saw an ancient lady, who had been seven years of age when the Highlanders passed her native town, and who distinctly remembered all the circumstances of the memorable pageant. According to her

Marching from Jedburgh, by way of Hawick and Hagiehaugh, Charles, on the 8th of November, for the first time set his foot in England at the small town of Brampton. The Highlanders, on finding themselves on the English side of the Border, raised a loud shout of exultation, at the same time drawing their swords and flourishing them in the air. Lochiel, however, while in the act of drawing his weapon, had the misfortune to cut his hand, and the sight of their chieftain's blood is said to have thrown a sudden damp over the spirits of the Highlanders, by whom the circumstance was universally regarded as an evil omen.*

If the march into England was distasteful to the Highland chieftains, it was still more unpopular with the humbler clansmen, who had a superstitious dread of being led across the Border, and had conceived an idea that some fatal disaster must infallibly result from the measure. So great, indeed, was their aversion to it, that Charles is said to have passed an hour and a half before he could prevail on the great body of his followers to march forward; indeed, be-

report, they had a great number of horses, which it was said they had taken from the dragoons at Preston. She saw some of them dressing these animals in a stable, and could mimic the strange uncouth jabber which they used in performing the duties of hostlers. In particular, she remembers hearing them call to the beasts,—'Stand about, Cope!' &c., the name of that unfortunate general having apparently been applied to all the horses taken from his army, by the way of testifying the contempt in which they held him. As at many other places, Charles was here saluted with marks of devout homage by many of the people as he passed; all the women running out to get a kiss of his hand."—*Chambers*, p. 50.

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 45.

fore they had advanced many miles into England, it was computed that they had lost a thousand men by desertion.

In the mean time, a division of the Highland army, under the Duke of Perth, had made good its advance to Carlisle. The town and citadel made, in the first instance, some show of resistance; but on a battery being constructed, and a breach opened on the east side of the town, they surrendered upon certain easy conditions, and under an engagement not to serve against the Prince for the space of twelve months. The keys were delivered to Charles at Brampton by the mayor and aldermen on their knees.

On the 17th, Charles himself entered the town of Carlisle in triumph. He was received with coldness by the inhabitants, for they had little reason to be favourably disposed to his cause. "The rebels, while here," says Henderson, "made excessive demands. The cess, excise, and land-tax were exacted under the severest penalties; a contribution from the inhabitants, upon pain of military execution, was extorted; and the private men among them committed many outrages, which their chiefs could not prevent."* At Carlisle, as at other places, Charles caused his father to be proclaimed King, and himself Regent, with the usual formalities. Here also a considerable quantity of arms fell into his possession, which proved of great service to him.†

Between Charles and the south was stationed Field-

* Henderson's History of the Rebellion, p. 57.

† See Chevalier de Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 55.

marshal Wade with six thousand men. That general had made a demonstration, with the view of raising the siege of Carlisle, by marching across the country from Newcastle to Hexham. However, either from the irresolution which had increased with the advance of years, or, as he himself alleged, from his army being impeded by the heavy snow-storms and intense cold, he marched back, on learning the news of the capitulation of Carlisle, to his former quarters, leaving the roads to the South open to the Highland army.

On the 21st of November, Charles, leaving a garrison of about three hundred men at Carlisle, took his departure from that city at the head of a force which was now reduced to four thousand four hundred men only, and of which Lord George Murray, much to the dissatisfaction of the Duke of Perth, was appointed general in command under the Prince. The same evening they arrived at Penrith, where they halted for a single day.

During his march towards the south, Charles enforced the strictest discipline and good order in his army. Every article was promptly paid for in the towns through which he passed, and it may be seen, on reference to his curious household book printed in the "Jacobite Memoirs," that he himself set the first example by the most punctual payment of all his personal expenses. So rigidly, indeed, were his orders enforced among his followers, that the Highlanders, far from indulging in their proverbial habits of pilfering and plunder, were seen at the doors of the houses and cottages which they passed by in their

march, expressing the humblest gratitude for any slight refreshment that was given them.

The uncouth appearance, however, of the wild mountaineers, their strange dress and language, and their peculiar habits, led to their being regarded, in many places, with the greatest terror and aversion by the English inhabitants. Nothing surprised the English more than when they saw the Highlanders act like ordinary beings; the commonest show of gratitude or civility on their part was regarded with looks of astonishment: and to such an extent was this feeling of prejudice carried, that in a letter written at the period, the writer expresses his amusement and surprise at seeing them, before meat, taking off their bonnets, assuming a reverential air, and saying grace, "as if they had been Christians." * The most wonderful stories, indeed, were related of their ferocity and blood-thirstiness; among other instances of which, it may be mentioned that the women in the midland counties were in the habit of concealing their children at the approach of the Highlanders, from a belief that the flesh of infants constituted their favourite food. A curious instance of this prejudice occurred to the celebrated Lochiel. "The terror of the English," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "was truly inconceivable, and in many cases they seemed bereft of their senses. One evening, as Mr. Cameron of Lochiel entered the lodgings assigned to him, his landlady, an old woman, threw herself at his feet, and with uplifted hands, and tears in her eyes, sup-

* Chambers's History of the Rebellion, p. 52, note.

plicated him to take her life, but to spare her two little children. He asked her if she was in her senses, and told her to explain herself; when she answered, that everybody said the Highlanders ate children, and made them their common food. Mr. Cameron having assured her that they would not injure her or her little children, or any person whatever, she looked at him for some moments with an air of surprise, and then opened a press, calling out with a loud voice, 'Come out, children, the gentlemen will not eat you.' The children immediately left the press, where she had concealed them, and threw themselves at his feet." *

On the 23rd, the Highland army marched out of Penrith in two divisions; the one, consisting entirely of the Highland clans, being commanded by the Prince in person, and the other, comprising the different regiments which had been raised in the Lowlands, being headed by Lord George Murray. In the different towns through which they passed, they levied the public revenue; scrupulously, however, exacting no more than what was actually due to the Government. In cases where money had already been subscribed for the service of the Government, they were in the habit of levying a sum of equal value from the unlucky subscriber. The appearance of the army, as it defiled along, is described as peculiarly picturesque and striking; the Highland garb being worn indiscriminately by every infantry regiment which composed the insurgent force.

At the head of his own division marched the young

* Chevalier de Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 101.

and gallant Prince, clad in the Highland costume, and with his target slung across his shoulder. Insisting that Lord Pitsligo, on account of his age and infirmities, should take possession of the carriage which had been reserved for himself, he shared, in common with the humblest Highlander, the fatigues and privations of the march. Of dinner he was never known to partake; his principal meal being his supper, and as soon as it was over, he was in the habit of throwing himself upon his bed about eleven o'clock, without undressing, and usually rose the next morning at four. He did not even carry with him a change of shoes; and it is said that, when in Lancashire, having worn a hole in one of those which he was in the habit of wearing, he stopped at a blacksmith's shop in the nearest village in order to have a thin plate of iron fastened to the bottom of the sole. The blacksmith having been paid for his job, — "You are the first person, I believe," said Charles, "who was ever paid for having shod the son of a king." Among other incidents recorded of him during his march, it is mentioned that on his reaching the river Mersey, the bridges over which were all broken down, he forded the stream at the head of his division, though the water rose to his middle.* Only on one occasion, when passing over the dreary district between Penrith and Shap, is Charles said to have discovered any symptoms of fatigue. In this instance, he is related to have walked for several miles, half asleep, leaning on the

* Smollett, Book ii. chap. 8.

shoulder of one of the clan Ogilvie, in order to prevent himself from falling.*

Passing by Shap and Kendal, the insurgent army advanced to Lancaster, and from thence marched by way of Garstang to Preston, where the two divisions met on the 27th. At the latter place, the Highlanders were again overtaken by a superstitious panic, such as had occasioned so much desertion in their ranks when they first found themselves on the English side of the border. Bearing in mind the famous defeat of their countrymen under the Duke of Hamilton during the great rebellion, and the more recent disaster which had befallen Brigadier Mac Intosh at Preston in 1715, the Highlanders had conceived a notion that this was the fatal boundary beyond which a Scottish army was never destined to pass. "To counteract this superstition," says Sir Walter Scott, "Lord George led a part of his troops across the Ribble-bridge, a mile beyond Preston, at which town the Chevalier arrived in the evening. The spell which arrested the progress of the Scottish troops was thus supposed to be broken, and their road to London was considered as laid open."†

At Preston, and in many places throughout the road to Wigan, Charles was received with loud acclamations by the populace, who forgot their terrors of the wild-looking mountaineers, in their desire to catch a view of the gallant young Chevalier, and of so remarkable a sight as a Highland army passing by their quiet homes. Neither promises nor threats, however, could induce them to enlist beneath the Prince's

* Chambers, p. 52. † Tales of a Grandfather, vol. iii. p. 236.

standard; and when arms were pressed upon them, their usual answer was, that they did not understand fighting. "One of my sergeants," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "named Dickson, whom I had enlisted from among the prisoners of war at Gladsmuir, a young Scotsman, as brave and intrepid as a lion, and very much attached to my interest, informed me, on the 27th, at Preston, that he had been beating up for recruits all day without getting one; and that he was the more chagrined at this, as the other sergeants had had better success. He had quitted Preston in the evening, *with his mistress and my drummer;* and having marched all night, he arrived next morning at Manchester, which is about twenty miles distant from Preston, and immediately began to beat up for recruits for 'the yellow haired laddie.' The populace at first did not interrupt him, conceiving our army to be near the town; but as soon as they knew that it would not arrive till the evening, they surrounded him in a tumultuous manner, with the intention of taking him prisoner, alive or dead. Dickson presented his blunderbuss, which was charged with slugs, threatening to blow out the brains of those who first dared to lay hands on himself or the two who accompanied him; and by turning round continually, facing in all directions, and behaving like a lion, he soon enlarged the circle which a crowd of people had formed round them. Having continued for some time to manœuvre in this way, those of the inhabitants of Manchester who were attached to the House of Stuart, took arms, and flew to the assistance of Dickson, to rescue him from the fury of the mob; so

that he soon got five or six hundred men to aid him, who dispersed the crowd in a very short time. Dickson now triumphed in his turn; and putting himself at the head of his followers, he proudly paraded undisturbed the whole day, with his drummer, enlisting for my company all who offered themselves. On presenting me with a list of one hundred and eighty recruits, I was agreeably surprised to find that the whole amount of his expenses did not exceed three guineas. This adventure of Dickson gave rise to many a joke at the expense of the town of Manchester, from the singular circumstance of its having been taken by a sergeant, a drummer, and a girl. The circumstance may serve to show the enthusiastic courage of our army, and the alarm and terror with which the English were seized."* The incident here related, is corroborated in a letter from Manchester, dated the 28th of November, which was forwarded by the Duke of Cumberland to the Government. "Just now," says the writer, "are come in two of the Pretender's men, a sergeant, a drummer, and a woman with them. I have seen them. The sergeant is a Scotchman, the drummer is a Halifax man, and they are now going to beat up. These two men and the woman, without any others, came into the town amidst thousands of spectators. I doubt not but we shall have more to-night. They say we are to have the Pretender to-morrow. They are dressed in plaids and bonnets. The sergeant has a target."†

* Chevalier de Johnstone's Memoirs, pp. 63—66. The Chevalier afterwards complains that these recruits were taken from him, and drafted into what was called the "Manchester Regiment."

† Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iii. p. 400.

On the 29th, the insurgent army marched into Manchester, in which town Charles had the gratification of finding his presence hailed with greater marks of good will, and with a more open display of popular enthusiasm for his cause, than he had hitherto experienced since crossing the Border. The populace received him with loud acclamations; the bells were rung in the different churches; bonfires were lighted at night in the streets; thousands of individuals openly wore the white cockade, and numbers thronged to kiss his hand, and to make him offers of service. The Prince himself entered the town on foot, about two o'clock in the afternoon, in the midst of a gallant band of Highland chieftains and gentlemen. His dress was a light tartan plaid, with a blue sash for a belt, and a blue velvet bonnet, ornamented with a knot of white ribbons in the form of a rose. He took up his quarters in a large house in Market Street, which for many years afterwards continued to be designated as "The Palace." It was subsequently converted into an inn, and has recently been pulled down and replaced by another building.*

The writer of the letter from which we have just quoted thus addresses himself to the Duke of Cumberland on the day following:—"The two Highlanders who came in yesterday, and beat up for volunteers for him they call his Royal Highness, Charles, Prince of Wales, offered five guineas advance; many took on; each received one shilling, to have the rest when the Prince came! They do not appear to be such terrible fellows as has been re-

* Chambers, p. 53.

presented. Many of the foot are diminutive creatures, but many clever men among them. The guards and officers are all in a Highland dress—a long sword, and stuck with pistols; their horses all sizes and colours. The bellman went to order all persons charged with excise, and innkeepers, forthwith to appear, and bring their last acquittance, and as much ready cash as that contains, on pain of military execution. It is my opinion they will make all haste through Derbyshire, to avoid fighting Ligonier. I do not see that we have any person in town to give intelligence to the King's forces, as all our men of fashion are fled, and all officers under the Government. A party came in at ten this morning, and have been examining the best houses, and fixed upon Mr. Dicconson's for the Prince's quarters. Several thousands came in at two o'clock: they ordered the bells to ring; and the bellman has been ordering us to illuminate our houses to-night, which must be done. The Chevalier marched by my door in a Highland dress, on foot, at three o'clock, surrounded by a Highland guard; no music but a pair of bagpipes. Those that came in last night demanded quarters for ten thousand to-day."*

Notwithstanding the apparent popularity of Charles and his cause, the inhabitants of Manchester, like those of Preston and other places, showed the strongest disinclination to take up arms on his behalf; and though a body of two hundred men, styled magniloquently "the Manchester Regiment," were subsequently enrolled, they consisted almost entirely of

* Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iii. p. 400.

the meanest of the rabble. Their officers, indeed, comprised some respectable merchants and tradesmen of the place; and Mr. Townley, who was appointed their colonel, was a Roman Catholic gentleman of ancient family, and, moreover, of considerable literary attainments.

On the 1st of December the army quitted Manchester, in two divisions; Charles, at the head of one division, fording the river Mersey at Stockport (all the bridges having been broken down by order of the Government), and the other crossing the river lower down at Cheadle. The same night the two divisions re-united at Macclesfield. On his crossing the river Mersey, an affecting incident is said to have occurred to Charles, which is thus related by Lord Mahon, on the authority of the late Lord Keith:—"On the opposite bank of the Mersey, Charles found a few of the Cheshire gentry drawn up ready to welcome him, and amongst them Mrs. Skyring, a lady in extreme old age. As a child, she had been lifted up in her mother's arms to view the happy landing at Dover of Charles the Second. Her father, an old cavalier, had afterwards to undergo not merely neglect, but oppression, from that thankless monarch; still, however, he and his wife continued devoted to the royal cause, and their daughter grew up as devoted as they. After the expulsion of the Stuarts, all her thoughts, her hopes, her prayers, were directed to another restoration. Ever afterwards she had, with rigid punctuality, laid aside one half of her yearly income, to remit for the exiled family abroad—concealing only the name of the giver, which, she said,

was of no importance to them, and might give them pain if they remembered the unkind treatment she had formerly received. She had now parted with her jewels, her plate, and every little article of value she possessed, the price of which, in a purse, she laid at the feet of Prince Charles, while, straining her dim eyes to gaze on his features, and pressing his hand to her shrivelled lips, she exclaimed with affectionate rapture, in the words of Simeon, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!' It is added, that she did not survive the shock when, a few days afterwards, she was told of the retreat. Such, even when misdirected in its object, or exaggerated in its force, was the old spirit of loyalty in England!—such were the characters which history is proud to record, and fiction loves to imitate!"*

Marching through Congleton, Leek, and Ashbourn, the Highland army, early on the 4th of December, entered the town of Derby, situated only one hundred and twenty-seven miles from the capital of England. At Congleton Charles had received the important, and unexpected intelligence, that the King's army (headed by the Duke of Cumberland, and amounting to twelve thousand seven hundred men, comprised chiefly of veteran regiments) was at Newcastle-under-Lyne, only nine miles to the south-west of him. Nearly at the same time, one Weir, a spy of the Duke of Cumberland, was taken prisoner, and carried to the Prince. Many of the Highland chieftains insisted that he should be ordered for immediate execution; but he was rescued from the gallows by

* History of England, p. 403.

Lord George Murray, who, in return for this good office, obtained from him much important and useful information, relative to the numbers and movements of the Duke of Cumberland's army. It may be mentioned that, as the Highland army advanced more southerly, they were received by the English with very equivocal signs of sympathy and good-will, and indeed in many places with marks of positive aversion.

The entry into Derby was made with much state. The first person who entered the town was Lord Elcho, who rode in on horseback, at the head of the lifeguards, attended by a small band of Highland and Lowland gentlemen, "making a very respectable appearance." In the course of the day the main body of the army marched in, in different detachments, their colours flying and bagpipes playing. Charles himself entered on foot, and took up his quarters in the house of the Earl of Exeter. The bells were rung in the different churches, and at night there were bonfires and an illumination. Charles, as usual, caused his father to be proclaimed King, and himself Regent. It was intended that the ceremony should be performed in the presence of the magistrates, who were ordered to attend in their official robes. It was found, however, that they had taken the precaution of sending them out of the town, and consequently their attendance was dispensed with, and the proclamations were made by the common crier.

There can be little question that the feeling which pervaded the majority of the people of England at

this period was indifference. If they exhibited no extraordinary regard for the cause of the Stuarts, they at least showed an equal unconcern for the interests of the reigning family; and as there appeared no immediate likelihood of their lives or fortunes being affected by a change of dynasty, they seemed to have been perfectly indifferent whether George the Second or the Chevalier should hereafter fill the throne. Gray, the poet, writes to Horace Walpole from Cambridge, 3rd of February 1746,—"Here we had no more sense of danger than if it were the battle of Cannæ. I heard three sensible middle-aged men, when the Scotch were said to be at Stamford, and actually were at Derby, talking of hiring a chaise to go to Caxton (a place on the high-road) to see the Pretender and Highlanders as they passed." * "London," says another contemporary, "lies open as a prize to the first comers, whether Scotch or Dutch."

In London, however, where the rebels were expected shortly to arrive, the case was widely different, and for a season the most extraordinary panic prevailed. "There never," writes Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, "was so melancholy a town; no kind of public place open but the playhouses, and they look as if the rebels had just driven away the company. Nobody but has some fear for themselves, for their money, or for their friends in the army; of this number am I." † "When the Highlanders," says Fielding, "by a most incredible march, got be-

* Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 383.

‡ Walpole's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 87.

tween the Duke's army and the metropolis, they struck a terror into it scarce to be credited;" * and the Chevalier de Johnstone also observes in his Memoirs,—"Our arrival at Derby was known at London on the 5th of December; and the following day (called by the English *Black Monday*) the intelligence was known throughout the whole city, which was filled with terror and consternation. Many of the inhabitants fled to the country, with their most precious effects, and all the shops were shut. People thronged to the Bank to obtain payment of its notes, and it only escaped bankruptcy by a stratagem. Payment was not indeed refused; but as those who came first were entitled to priority of payment, the Bank took care to be continually surrounded by agents with notes, who were paid in sixpences in order to gain time. These agents went out at one door with the specie they had received, and brought it back by another; so that the *bonâ fide* holders of notes could never get near enough to present them; and the Bank, by this artifice, preserved its credit and literally faced its creditors. It being known at London that our army was within a few miles of that of the Duke of Cumberland, the news of a battle, for the result of which they were in the greatest alarm, was expected every moment; and they dreaded to see our army enter London in triumph in two or three days. King George ordered his yachts, in which he had embarked all his most precious effects, to remain at the Tower quay, in readiness to sail at a moment's warning." †

* "True Patriot." † Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 74.

CHAPTER X.

Charles desirous of marching upon London.—Reasons of his Commanders for a Retreat towards the North.—His reluctant Consent.—Conduct of his Army on its Retreat.—Lord George Murray gives a Check to the Duke of Cumberland's advanced Guard.—George the Fourth and Mrs. Pennycuik.—Surrender of Carlisle to the Duke of Cumberland.—The Pretender continues his Retreat.—His Arrival at Glasgow.

NOTWITHSTANDING the apparently promising state of the Prince's affairs, nothing could be more precarious than his actual condition. Within a few miles of him lay the Duke of Cumberland, with an army that more than doubled his own in numbers; another force, consisting of six thousand men, under the command of Marshal Wade, was skirting along the western side of Yorkshire; while, for the defence of the metropolis, a camp was being formed on Finchley Common, which it was intended should consist of the Guards, who had been marched out of London for this purpose, and of several other regiments which had seen foreign service, and which were expected to arrive immediately from abroad. At the head of this force George the Second had expressed his intention of taking the field in person.

Notwithstanding this threatening aspect of his affairs, the spirits of Charles appeared unbroken,

and he continued to be supported by the same sanguine hopes of ultimate success, which he had never failed to entertain since the commencement of his enterprise. Satisfied, in his own mind, that heaven had declared itself in his favour;—thoroughly convinced that the great majority of the people of England looked upon George the Second in the odious light of an usurper, and that they would too gladly transfer their allegiance from him to the rightful line;—fully confiding, also, in the resources of his own genius, and in the gallantry and efficiency of his followers, the sanguine and high-spirited young adventurer, up to this period, never for a moment appears to have entertained the remotest anticipation of disaster or defeat. The plan which he had laid down in his own mind, was to give the Duke of Cumberland the slip, and, by stealing a day's march on the enemy, give battle to George the Second beneath the walls of London, when he doubted not to obtain a victory over the usurper, and by this means make himself master of the capital. So confident, indeed, was he of success and triumph, that his common conversation after dinner at Derby, was as to the manner in which he should make his public entry into London; whether on foot or on horseback, or whether in the Highland or Lowland dress.

Whether fortunately or unfortunately for Charles, his council differed widely from him as to the good policy of marching farther towards the South. Accordingly, on the morning of the 5th of December, all the commanders of battalions and squadrons, headed by Lord George Murray, made their ap-

pearance before the Prince, and earnestly, though respectfully, remonstrated with him on the absolute necessity of an immediate retreat to Scotland. They had been principally induced, they said, to march so far,—farther than any Scottish army had as yet advanced into England,—from the assurance which had been held out to them that they would speedily be supported by a rising among the English and a descent from France, but hitherto there had appeared not the slightest likelihood of either of these events taking place. Was it not well known, they asked, that the counties through which they had just passed were those which were most favourably inclined to the cause of the Stuarts? and when it was remembered that in those very counties only the most insignificant number had been induced to join them, what could they expect in districts which perhaps were hostile to them to a man? What was their own force, they said, of five thousand men, when opposed to an army of thirty thousand, which, though at present uncombined, the Elector had already in the field, and which was daily being reinforced by fresh battalions? "I am told," says Lord Pitsligo, who was the oracle of the Lowland gentry, "that the Elector is to raise his standard at Finchley Common, and the advantage of being in possession of London is known from the case of Edward the Fourth. Should we fight the Duke of Cumberland, the fortune of war is doubtful; should we pass him, which may be done, yet we have another army to encounter before we arrive at St. James's; and in case of a defeat we shall be exposed to the rage of

the country people. Let us not then bring certain destruction on ourselves, and an indelible stain upon the Scottish people, who, when unanimous, never marched so far as we have done. We will conduct you back," he added, (turning to the Chevalier) "and by an honourable retreat secure that safety and that character, of both which the rash adventuring forward bids fair to deprive us." *

In addition to these arguments, it was urged by Lord George Murray that even victory must prove of no service to them; for, even should they be enabled to give the Duke of Cumberland the slip, and be so fortunate as to overcome the forces of the Elector at Finchley, still they must necessarily suffer such a loss as would prevent them from taking advantage of their success. Supposing, on the other hand, the possibility of a defeat, not a man in the army could reasonably hope to escape to Scotland, and the Prince himself, should he escape being killed in battle, must inevitably fall into the hands of the enemy. Lastly, it was insisted, that should the Prince find himself master of London, even without incurring the hazard and consequences of a battle, still it was utterly impossible that he should be able to retain possession of so vast a city, unless the populace declared themselves strongly in his favour,—an event on which—as far as their present experience and means of intelligence could be depended upon—they had not the slightest grounds to calculate. The Duke of Perth, says the Chevalier de Johnstone, alone took no part at first in these debates between

* Henderson's Life of the Duke of Cumberland, p. 178.

the Prince and the chiefs of the clans. Resting his head against the fire-place, he listened to the dispute without uttering a single word; but at last he declared himself loudly of the opinion of the other chiefs.*

The young Prince listened to these arguments with the most manifest impatience; indeed, so great was his vexation at this threatened destruction of all his darling hopes and romantic projects, at the very crisis, too, as he believed it to be, of his chivalrous enterprise, that he is said with difficulty to have prevented himself from shedding tears. "Rather than go back," he cried vehemently, "I would wish to be twenty feet under ground!"† In vain he argued and entreated; till at length, finding all remonstrance useless, he broke up the council in silent indignation, and with marks of unequivocal disgust. The remainder of this eventful day was passed by Charles in remonstrating singly with the different members of the council. Finding them inflexible, however, he again summoned the council in the evening, and in language which too evidently told the tale of ruined hopes and blighted ambition, he coldly communicated to the council that he consented to accede to their wishes, and that he was prepared to return with them immediately to Scotland. To this he added imperiously, in the bitterness of the moment, that this was the last council which he should ever summon, and that hereafter he should hold himself responsible for his actions only to God and his father.

Thus terminated the last reasonable hope of the

* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 71.

† MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel. Lord Mahon's Hist. vol. iii. p. 410.

Stuarts regaining the sovereignty of these realms. Disappointed in the expectations which had been so constantly held out to them, both of an English rising and a French descent, the leaders of the insurgent army unquestionably argued wisely when they pressed upon the Prince the necessity of a retreat; nor could they but perceive that the assurances of immediate relief which he had so long continued to hold out to them, and which alone had induced them to march to so great a distance from their own country, were founded rather on his own sanguine hopes and ardent feelings, than on any more certain or satisfactory basis.

Nevertheless, it is curious to speculate how different might have been the result had Charles been permitted to put his favourite plan of marching to London into execution. Little did he know, when he consented to quit Derby, that already ten thousand French troops, with his brother Henry at their head, had received orders to effect a landing on the southern coast of England! Little did he know that the premier peer of Great Britain, the Duke of Norfolk—whose example would probably have been followed by most of the influential Roman Catholics—was on the very point of declaring himself in his favour; and not less was he aware that many of the Welsh gentlemen had already quitted their homes to join him,* and that a messenger was actually on his road from Lord Barrymore and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, not only giving him assurances of their fidelity, but also pledging themselves to join him at whatever spot and in any manner he might please! Had Charles been

* Chambers, p. 56.

aware of these facts, and had he consequently pursued his march to London, it is far from impossible that the dynasty of Great Britain might have been changed, and that the Stuarts might once more have held their court at Whitehall! As it was, the retreat from Derby sealed the fate of Charles and his gallant followers. No sooner did the fact become known, than the embarkation of the French troops was countermanded, and the English Jacobites remained in their quiet homes, congratulating themselves, perhaps, that their cautious policy had preserved for them their fortunes, and not improbably their lives.*

On the 6th of December, before the day dawned, the Highland army commenced its retrograde and mournful march from Derby. Hitherto the devoted mountaineers had imagined themselves on the eve of an engagement with the royal forces, and, notwithstanding the vast superiority of their opponents both in numbers and discipline, the chivalrous ardour

* Since writing the above, the author finds that he is not singular in presuming that, had Charles marched to London, it was not improbable that he would have made himself master of the throne of Great Britain. "I believe," says Lord Mahon, "that had Charles marched onward from Derby he would have gained the British throne; but I am far from thinking that he would long have held it. Bred up in arbitrary principles, and professing the Romanist religion, he might soon have been tempted to assail—at the very least, he would have alarmed—a people jealous of their freedom, and a church tenacious of her rights. His own violent, though generous temper, and his deficiency in liberal knowledge, would have widened the breach; some rivalries between his court and his father's might probably have rent his own party asunder; and the honours and rewards well earned by his faithful followers might have nevertheless disgusted the rest of the nation. In short, the English would have been led to expect a much better government than King George's, and they would have had a much worse."—*Lord Mahon's History of England*, vol. iii. p. 416.

which they displayed at the prospect of an approaching struggle partook almost of the character of romance. "There was a great disproportion," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "between the numbers of the two armies; but the inequality was balanced by the heroic ardour of the Highlanders, animated on that occasion to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and breathing nothing but a desire for the combat. They were to be seen during the whole day in crowds before the shops of the cutlers, quarrelling about who should be the first to sharpen and give a proper edge to their swords.*

It was not till the day had dawned, and had displayed to them many a familiar object which they had recently passed by in their hour of triumph, that the Highlanders perceived in what direction their chieftains were leading them, and then their vexation almost exceeded that of their broken-hearted Prince. "As soon," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "as the day allowed them to see the objects around them, and they found that we were retracing our steps, nothing was to be heard throughout the whole army but expressions of rage and lamentation. If we had been beaten, the grief could not have been greater."†

It has already been mentioned, that the conduct of the Highlanders, in the course of their triumphant march to Derby, had been distinguished by a forbearance and good conduct which would have done credit to a more civilized people and more disciplined troops; but now, irritated by disappointment, their progress was marked by repeated acts

* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 67. † Ibid., p. 73.

of violence and rapine. The conduct of Charles, moreover, tended to increase the feelings of vexation and discontent which pervaded the army in general. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum* had hitherto been his favourite and adopted motto; but now that this motto appeared to him as a reproach, his former high hopes and elation of spirits had yielded to the most melancholy depression of mind. In the march to Derby, it had been his custom to rise with the dawn of day, and with his target slung over his back, and with a kind word to the humblest Highlander, he was in the habit of marching gaily at the head of his division. But now he appeared sullen and dejected, and instead of delighting to share the fatigues of his men on foot, and proving himself their equal even in their boasted powers of enduring the most harassing march, he was in the habit of lingering gloomily behind till the whole army was in advance of him, and then, riding forward on horseback, took his place at the head of the column.

The English Jacobites, who had volunteered to serve in the Prince's army, were the persons whose position was the most critical at this particular period. They knew not, indeed, which was the best step to take; whether to retreat with the Highlanders into the fastnesses of their native mountains, or to remain behind and trust themselves to the tender mercies of the Government. One of these persons, of the name of Morgan, addressing himself to one Vaughan, another English gentleman in the Prince's service, observed with every mark of astonishment, that "the army was retreating to Scotland."—"Be it

so," was Vaughan's reply, "I am determined to go with them, wherever their course lies." Morgan, on the contrary, remarked with an oath, that "it were better to be hanged in England than starved in Scotland." He adhered to his determination, and died on the gallows; while Vaughan had the good fortune to escape, and died an officer in the service of the King of Spain.*

The conduct of the Highlanders, during their march, provoked the anger and revengeful feelings of the country people in the districts through which they passed; while the latter naturally seized every opportunity of retaliating on their oppressors. In consequence of some wanton act, either of violence or pillage, which was committed by the Highlanders at a village near Stockport, the inhabitants fired on the patrols of the insurgent army, who retorted by setting fire to the village. The people of the country had by this time provided themselves with arms, and the consequence was, that they more than once fired on the rear of the insurgent army, and killed the enemy's stragglers whenever they fell into their hands. Even the sick, who were necessarily left behind by the Highlanders during their rapid march, were treated with unjustifiable violence. On reaching Manchester, on the 9th, the inhabitants, who had received them on their onward march with every manifestation of welcome and joy, now appeared hostile to them almost to a man, and, on their quitting the town, a large mob followed in their rear, and annoyed them considerably by a desultory fire.

* "Tales of a Grandfather," vol. iii. p. 241.

Even the Prince's own life was on one occasion in imminent danger. Some zealous royalist had conceived the idea of assassinating him, but mistaking the person of Mr. O'Sullivan for that of the Prince, he fired his piece at the former. "Search was made for him," says one of the Jacobite officers, "but in vain: and no great matter for anything he would have suffered from us; for many exercised their malice merely on account of the known clemency of the Prince, which, however, they would not have dared to do if he had permitted a little more severity in punishing them. The army, irritated by such frequent instances of the enemy's malice, began to behave with less forbearance, and now few there were who would go on foot if they could ride; and mighty taking, stealing, and pressing of horses there was amongst us. Diverting it was to see the Highlanders mounted, without either breeches, saddle, or anything else but the bare back of the horses to ride on—and for their bridle only a straw-rope! In this manner did we march out of England."*

On the 17th, the main body of the Highland army reached Penrith, with Charles at their head; but the rear guard, under the command of Lord George Murray, having been detained for a considerable time by the breaking down of some baggage-waggons, had been compelled to pass the night at Shap. Early on the following morning, Lord George resumed his march, but the delay which had taken place on the previous day, had enabled the Duke of Cumberland to push forward his light cavalry, and, just as the

* MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel. Lord Mahon, vol. iii. p. 418.

Highlanders were entering the enclosures around Clifton Hall, they were surprised to see the light horse of the enemy commanding the adjoining heights. Immediately, Lord George Murray gave an order to the Glengary clan to ascend the nearest hill and attack them. "They ran so fast," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "that they reached the summit of the hill almost as soon as those who were at the head of the column. We were agreeably surprised when we reached the top, to find, instead of the English army, only three hundred light horse and chasseurs, who immediately fled in disorder, and of whom we were only able to come up with one man, who had been thrown from his horse, and whom we wished to make prisoner to obtain some intelligence from him; but it was impossible to save him from the fury of the Highlanders, who cut him to pieces in an instant."*

The rear-guard continued its march, Lord George Murray, sensibly alive to the importance of the trust confided to him, being the last man to bring up the rear. The sun had now set, and twilight had almost merged into darkness, when Lord George Murray for the first time perceived in his rear a large body of the enemy's cavalry—which now amounted, it is said, to four thousand men—advancing upon him in two lines on Clifton Moor, about half a mile from the village of that name. On one side of the road, through which the enemy must necessarily reach him, were the vast enclosures of Lord Lonsdale's estate, and on the other side were the Clifton enclosures, of less extent. Lord George Murray, perceiving the im-

* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 87.

portance of giving the enemy a check before they could be supported by a larger force, determined on an immediate attack.* The night was extremely dark, but the moon occasionally broke through the dark clouds; and in one of these intervals of light Lord George perceived a large body of dismounted dragoons gliding forward along the stone dykes, or defences, with the evident intention of surprising him. Placing himself at the head of the Macphersons, and taking his station by the side of his friend Cluny, the chief of that branch of the clan, he inquired hurriedly of him what he considered ought to be done. "I will attack the enemy sword in hand," was the reply of the chieftain, "provided you order me." Almost at the same moment they received a sharp fire of musketry from the dragoons on the other side of the dyke. "There is no time to be lost," said Lord George, "we must instantly charge!" At the same time he drew his broadsword, and shouting out the famous war-cry of the Highlanders, "Claymore!" he was the first to dash into the midst of the enemy. "The Highlanders," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "immediately ran to the inclosures where the English were, fell down on their knees, and began to cut down the thorn-hedges with their dirks—a

* "The officers who were with me," says Lord George Murray, in his Letter to Hamilton of Bangour, "agreed in my opinion, that to retreat when the enemy were within less than musket-shot would be very dangerous, and we would probably be destroyed before we came up with the rest of our army. We had nothing for it but a brisk attack; and therefore, after receiving the enemy's fire, we went in sword in hand and dislodged them; after which we made our retreat in good order. I own I disobeyed orders; but what I did was the only safe and honourable measure I could take, and it succeeded."—*Home's Appendix*, No. 42.

necessary precaution, as they wore no breeches, but only a sort of petticoat, which reached to their knees. During this operation, they received the fire of the English with the most admirable firmness and constancy; and, as soon as the hedge was cut down, they jumped into the enclosures sword in hand, and, with an inconceivable intrepidity, broke the English battalions, who suffered so much the more as they did not turn their backs, as at the battle of Gladsmuir, but allowed themselves to be cut to pieces without quitting their ground. Platoons of forty and fifty men might be seen falling all at once under the swords of the Highlanders; yet they still remained firm, and closed up their ranks as soon as an opening was made through them by the sword. At length, however, the Highlanders forced them to give way, and pursued them across three enclosures to a heath which lay behind them. The only prisoner they took was the Duke of Cumberland's footman, who declared that his master would have been killed, if the pistol with which a Highlander took aim at his head had not missed fire. The Prince had the politeness to send him back instantly to his master."*

In the onset, while dashing through the hedge, Lord George lost his bonnet and wig (the latter being commonly worn at the period), and fought bareheaded the foremost in the assault. Nothing could be more complete than the victory gained by the Highlanders. The royalists, who fled in all directions, suffered severely in the conflict; and Colonel Honeywood, who commanded the dragoons, was left

* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 91.

severely wounded on the spot. "Cumberland and his cavalry," it is said, "fled with precipitation, and in such great confusion, that if the Prince had been provided with a sufficient number of cavalry to have taken advantage of the disorder, it is beyond question that the Duke of Cumberland and the bulk of his cavalry had been taken prisoners."* The defeated dragoons took up a position on a distant part of the moor, but without again venturing to attack the rear of the insurgents. The Highlanders were with great difficulty withheld from pursuing their opponents, exclaiming that it was a disgrace to see so many of the Prince's enemies "standing fast" upon the moor, without being permitted to attack them.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain the exact loss of the royal forces at the skirmish at Clifton. The English, in their accounts of the affray, estimate the loss at forty private men killed and wounded, and four officers wounded. On the other hand, Clunie of M'Pherson asserts that there were one hundred and fifty men *killed;* and the Chevalier de Johnstone says that the loss was estimated by some as high as six hundred men. The Duke of Cumberland, on the contrary, in his unworthy fabrications and prejudiced statement of the affair, which were published in the *London Gazette* "by authority," reduces the total loss to only a dozen men, which small number are stated to have pushed too far forward on the moor, and in all probability to have been taken prisoners. Such is the too frequent difficulty in establishing the

* McPherson's MS. Memoirs, quoted in Notes to Waverley.

simpest historical fact! According to all accounts, the Highlanders lost no more than twelve in the conflict.*

On the 19th the insurgents entered Carlisle, where they passed the night. On the following morning, the Prince's birthday, they resumed their march, leaving behind them a garrison of three hundred men, consisting of the Manchester regiment, a few Lowlanders, and some French and Irish. The two latter, being engaged in the French service, had little to fear from falling into the hands of the Duke of Cumberland; but it was different with the others, who could scarcely fail to anticipate the dreadful fate which awaited them, and yet resigned themselves to their lot with a cheerfulness and devotion which did them the highest honour. "Mr. Townley, colonel of the English," says an officer who was present, "petitioned the Prince, not only in his own name, but in the name of all the officers of the Manchester regiment, to be left, though the latter never assented to or desired it, many of them wishing to undergo the same fate as their royal master. However, on Colonel Townley's coming back, and telling them that it was the Prince's pleasure that they should remain at Car-

* Clifton Moor is the scene where the chieftain of Glenaquoich is represented in Waverley to have been made a prisoner. "Mingling with the dismounted dragoons, they forced them, at the sword point, to fly to the open moor, where a considerable number were cut to pieces. But the moon, which suddenly shone out, showed to the English the small number of assailants, disordered by their own success. Two squadrons of horse moving to the support of their companions, the Highlanders endeavoured to recover the enclosures; but several of them, amongst others their brave chieftain, were cut off and surrounded before they could effect their purpose."

lisle, they all, taking it as coming from the Prince, most willingly acquiesced."*

While Charles was passing through Carlisle at the head of his troops, a stranger forced his way up to him, and, accosting him in a tone of great earnestness, entreated him to order the bagpipes to leave off playing. The Prince inquired his reason for making the demand, when he was informed that a lady of the name of Dacre had just been brought to bed, and that the Highland army would presently pass by her residence. Charles instantly gave orders for the bagpipes to cease playing, and on reaching the house he alighted from his horse and went in. By his own desire the new-born infant was brought to him, when, with his usual grace, he took the white cockade from his Highland bonnet and fixed it to the bosom of the child. This little creature became afterwards the wife of Sir James Clerk of Pennycuik, and during the last century was for many years the leader of fashion in Edinburgh. When George the Fourth visited Scotland she was in her seventy-seventh year, and was treated by that monarch with marked attention. He insisted on hearing the anecdote of her infancy from her own lips; and one evening, when at his desire she produced the identical cockade which had been presented her by Charles, he took it from her and wore it during the rest of the day.

Previous to taking his departure from Carlisle, Charles publicly returned his thanks to these brave and devoted persons, who were drawn up to receive his parting address. There can be no doubt that he

* MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel, Lord Mahon, vol. iii. p. 420.

would never have consented to leave them behind him, in an isolated citadel and in hostile land, had he not been firmly convinced that the Duke of Cumberland was unprovided with battering artillery. The Duke, however, arrived the following day, and invested Carlisle with his whole army. The little garrison defended itself to the best of its abilities; but on the 29th, some cannon, which had been brought from Whitehaven, began to play against the crazy walls, and the besieged, finding that further resistance could avail nothing, hoisted a white flag upon the walls, and expressed a desire to capitulate. The reply of the Duke was, that "they should not be put to the sword, but reserved for his Majesty's pleasure." Of the eighteen officers who served in the Manchester regiment, seventeen were condemned to death on the 19th of July following. Of these, nine perished on the scaffold at Kennington Common, under the most aggravated circumstances of cruelty and horror, bearing their dreadful fate with piety and resignation, and true to their principles to the last.

On the afternoon of the 20th of December, the Highlanders crossed the Esk, and had the satisfaction of finding themselves once more on their native soil. Their manner of fording the rapid current was ingeniously contrived. The Highlanders formed themselves into ranks of ten or twelve abreast, with their arms locked so as to support each other against the rapidity of the stream, leaving a sufficient space between their ranks for the passage of the water. Cavalry also were stationed in the river below the ford,

to save any of those who might be carried away by the violence of the current. While the Highlanders were engaged in fording the Esk, one of those trifling incidents occurred which had so often endeared Charles to his humble followers. He was fording the river on horseback, a short distance below the spot where the rest of his army was crossing, when one or two men, who had been drifted from the hold of their companions, were carried near him by the stream. With great dexterity and presence of mind, he caught hold of one of them by the hair of his head, and exclaiming in Gaelic, "*Cohear, cohear!*" that is, "Help, help!" supported the man in safety till further assistance arrived. In crossing the Esk not a single man was lost. Only a few unhappy girls, who had chosen to share the fortunes of their lovers, were carried away by the rapidity of the current. The Highlanders displayed excessive joy on finding themselves once more in their own country. "Fires," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "were kindled to dry our people as soon as they quitted the water; and the bagpipers having commenced playing, the Highlanders began all to dance, expressing the utmost joy on seeing their country again; and forgetting the chagrin which had incessantly devoured them, and which they had continually nourished ever since their departure from Derby."*

Thus was accomplished the memorable march of the Highland army from Derby to Scotland, which has been designated by one writer as "one of the most surprising retreats that has ever been per-

* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 75.

formed;"* and by another, as "entitled to rank with the most celebrated in either ancient or modern times."† When we consider, indeed, that this famous retreat was made in the heart of a hostile country;—that it was performed, in spite of two armies of overwhelming superiority, with the greatest coolness and deliberation;—that, notwithstanding they were closely pursued by cavalry, and suffered intensely from fatigue and hunger, the retreating army lost only forty men, whether by sickness or the sword;—when we consider all these circumstances, we cannot fail to be struck with astonishment and admiration at a retreat so skilfully conducted and so successfully performed.

From the banks of the Esk, Charles marched with the main body of his army to Dumfries, a town which had long been distinguished for its attachment to the reigning family and to the Protestant succession. Their excess of zeal, indeed, had induced the inhabitants to celebrate the retreat of the insurgents with illuminations and bonfires; and when Charles entered the town, the candles were still in the windows, and the bonfires remained unextinguished in the streets. For this unpalatable display of hostility to his cause, Charles levied a heavy tax on the inhabitants. He imposed a fine of 2000*l.* on the town, and when, at his departure, only 1100*l.* was forthcoming, he carried off with him the unfortunate Provost‡ and an-

* Smollett, vol. iii. p. 221. † Chambers, p. 58.

‡ The Provost of Dumfries was a gentleman of the name of Corsan. He had shown himself a staunch friend of the Government, and was consequently threatened with the destruction of his house and property by the enraged insurgents. "It is not very long since," says Sir Walter Scott, "that the late Mrs. M'Culloch of Ardwell, daughter of Provost

other magistrate, as securities for the payment of the remaining sum.

At Dumfries, Charles took up his quarters in the Market Place, in what was then the most considerable house in the town, and which is now the Commercial Inn. "Within the last three years," (1840) says Mr. Chambers, "an aged female lived in Edinburgh, who recollected the occupation of Dumfries by the Highland army, being then seventeen years of age.* She lived opposite to the Prince's lodging, and frequently saw him. In her father's house several of the men were quartered, and it was in her recollection that they greatly lamented the course which they had taken, and feared the issue of the expedition. The proprietor of the house occupied by the Prince was a Mr. Richard Lowthian, a non-juror, and proprietor of Stafford Hall in Cumberland. Though well affected to the Prince's cause, he judged it prudent not to appear in his company, and yet neither did he wish to offend him by the appearance of deliberately going out of his way. The expedient he adopted in this dilemma was one highly characteristic of the time. He got himself so extremely drunk, that his being kept

Corsan, told me that she remembered well, when a child of six years old, being taken out of her father's house, as if it was to be instantly burnt. Too young to be sensible of the danger, she asked the Highland officer, who held her in his arms, to show her the Pretender, which the good-natured Gael did, under the condition that little Miss Corsan was in future to call him the Prince. Neither did they carry their threats into execution against the Provost or his mansion."—*Tales of a Grandfather*, vol. iii. p. 249, note.

* "Widow Blake," says Mr. Chambers, "was the name of this remarkable person, who died fully at the age of 108. She had been the wife of a dragoon in the reign of George the Second."

back from the company of his guest was only a matter of decency. His wife, who could not well be taxed with treason, did the honours of the house without scruple; and some other Jacobite ladies, particularly those of the attainted House of Carnwath,* came forward to grace his court."

Mr. Chambers observes in his History of the Rebellion of 1745,—"When the writer was at Dumfries in 1838, he saw, in the possession of a private family, one of a set of table napkins, of the most beautiful damask, resembling the finest satin, which the ladies Dalzell had taken to grace the table of the Prince, and which they had kept ever after with the care due to the most precious relics. The drawing-room, in which Charles received company, is a very handsome one, panelled all round with Corinthian pilasters, the capitals of which are touched with dim gold. He was sitting here at supper with his officers and other friends, when he was told that a messenger had arrived with intelligence respecting the enemy. One M'Ghie, a painter in Dumfries, and a friend of the insurgents, had been imposed upon at Annan with the false news that the Duke of Cumberland had already taken Carlisle, and was advancing to Dumfries. Charles received this intelligence in another room, and soon after returned to his friends with a countenance manifestly dejected. The consequence was, that he hurriedly left the town the next day.

* The daughters of Robert Dalzell, sixth Earl of Carnwath, who was condemned to death for the share which he took in the Rebellion of 1715. His life was spared, but his titles were forfeited by attainder. In 1826, these honours were restored in the person of Robert Alexander Dalzell, by courtesy, the tenth Earl.

Mrs. Lowthian received from him, as token of regard, a pair of leather gloves, so extremely fine that they could be drawn through her ring. These, as well as the bed he had slept on, were carefully preserved by the family, and are still in existence."*

The night of the 23rd, the day on which Charles quitted Dumfries, was passed by him at Drumlanrig, the seat of the Duke of Queensberry. He himself slept in the state bed, while a number of his men lay upon straw in the great gallery. During their short stay at Drumlanrig, the Highlanders seized an unfortunate opportunity of displaying their zeal in the cause of the Stuarts, by hacking with their swords the portraits of King William, Queen Mary, and Queen Anne; presents from the last of these sovereigns to James Duke of Queensberry, in consideration of his services in promoting the union between the two kingdoms.†

From Drumlanrig, Charles marched with his army through the romantic Pass of Dalveen into Clydesdale, and at night took up his quarters in Douglas Castle, the seat of the Duke of Douglas. Generally speaking, as may be seen in the Prince's curious household book, he scrupulously defrayed the expenses of his entertainment wherever he stopped; but both at Drumlanrig and at Douglas, the masters of which mansions were hostile to his cause, he is said to have made no remuneration whatever.

From Douglas Castle Charles led his troops by way of Hamilton to Glasgow. At Hamilton he allowed his troops a day's rest; he himself taking up

* History of the Rebellion, p. 59. † Chambers, p. 59.

his residence at the palace of the Duke of Hamilton, where he amused himself by shooting in the park. The result of the day's sport speaks but little perhaps in favour of his skill as a sportsman—the only game which he brought down being two pheasants, two partridges and a deer.

On the 26th Charles entered Glasgow, the wealthiest and the most populous town in Scotland, and the most violently opposed to the cause of the Stuarts. The inhabitants had recently raised a regiment for the service of the Government, which was commanded by the Earl of Home, and numbered nine hundred men. Charles consequently retaliated upon them, by forcing them to pay the expenses of refitting his gallant Highlanders, whose dress, in consequence of their long and continuous march of two months, is described as having been in the most dilapidated condition. The refit of the Highland army is said to have cost the corporation of Glasgow 10,000*l.*; at least, such is the amount of the sum which they subsequently received as a remuneration from the Government.* During the time he remained in this city, the quarters of Charles were in the best house which it contained, at the west end of the Trongate. Modern improvements have since caused it to be rased to the ground.

In consequence of the numerous desertions of the Highlanders, who were unable to resist the temptation of visiting their wives and families after so long an absence, the insurgent army was now reduced to three thousand six hundred foot and five

* Home, chap. vii.

hundred horse. In so populous a city as Glasgow, Charles had hoped to compensate himself for these desertions by the number of recruits which he expected to enlist; but, during the whole week that he remained there, only sixty individuals joined his standard. Neither did his gallant appearance, nor the fascination of his personal address, produce any effect on the calculating minds of the inhabitants of this commercial city. On one occasion he was shot at by a fanatic in the streets, whose pistol fortunately missed fire; and he himself was heard to complain, with great bitterness, that nowhere had he made so few friends.

Nevertheless, even in the Whig and fanatic city of Glasgow, Charles had the satisfaction of finding that, as in all other parts of Scotland, the romance of his enterprise, and the charm of his personal appearance, had won for him the kind interest and best wishes of the fair sex. "The ladies," says Captain Daniel, "though formerly much against us, were now charmed by the sight of the Prince into the most enthusiastic loyalty." He held a kind of small court in the Trongate, where he was to be seen in public twice a-day surrounded by his principal officers, and where the ladies of Glasgow and the neighbourhood, in spite of the remonstrances of their husbands and lovers, constantly flocked to be presented to him. Charles appears to have been particularly gratified by the attentions paid him by the ladies of Glasgow, for, during his residence in the Trongate, he is said to have paid greater atten-

tion to his dress and personal appearance, than he had done at any former period.

Previous to quitting Glasgow, Charles held a grand review of his troops upon "*the Green.*" "We marched out," says Captain Daniel, "with drums beating, colours flying, bagpipes playing, and all the marks of a triumphant army, to the appointed ground; attended by multitudes of people, who had come from all parts to see us, and especially the ladies, who, though formerly much against us, were now charmed by the sight of the Prince into the most enthusiastic loyalty. I am somewhat at a loss to give a description of the Prince, as he appeared at the review. No object could be more charming, no personage more captivating, no deportment more agreeable, than his at this time was; for, being well-mounted and princely attired, having all the best endowments of both body and mind, he appeared to bear a sway, above any comparison with the heroes of the last age; and the majesty and grandeur he displayed were truly noble and divine." *

Another portrait of the Prince, drawn at this period by a grave citizen of Glasgow, may not be uninteresting to the reader. It is curious to find the writer dwelling on that peculiar expression of melancholy, which was the characteristic of the countenance of Charles, and which had already been commented upon by the inhabitants of Edinburgh in his happier and more prosperous days. "I managed," says the writer, "to get so near him, as

* Chambers, p. 61.

he passed homewards to his lodgings, that I could have touched him with my hand; and the impression which he made upon my mind will never fade as long as I live. He had a princely aspect, and its interest was much heightened by the dejection which appeared in his pale fair countenance and downcast eye. He evidently wanted confidence in his cause, and seemed to have a melancholy foreboding of that disaster which soon after ruined the hopes of his family for ever." *

* Attic Stories (Glasgow, 1818), p. 290.

CHAPTER XI.

The Pretender's Retreat to Stirling.—The Duke succeeded in the Command by Lieutenant-general Hawley—his Character.—Surprised by the Reappearance of the Pretender's Forces.—Battle of Falkirk.

ON the 3rd of January, 1746, Charles evacuated Glasgow, with the intention of laying siege to Stirling Castle. The march occupied three days. The first night was passed by him at Kilsyth House, the residence of Campbell of Shawfield; the next day he led his troops to the famous field of Bannockburn, passing the night himself at Bannockburn House, the seat of Sir Hugh Paterson, who has already been mentioned as one of his most devoted adherents.

Shortly after his arrival at Stirling, Charles had the satisfaction of finding his army strengthened by a large accession of force, amounting in all to about four thousand men. This force consisted of the Frasers, the Mac Kenzies, the Mac Intoshes, and the Farquarsons, as well as of a considerable body of men which had been raised by Lord Lewis Gordon, and the regiments of Scots Royal and French piquets. Charles now found himself in command of an army of nine thousand men. With this addition of strength —supported, moreover, by a quantity of battery guns and engineers, which Lord John Drummond had recently succeeded in transporting from France—he

felt himself in a condition to lay siege to Stirling Castle, and accordingly, on the 10th of January, he opened the trenches against that important fortress.

In the meantime, the Duke of Cumberland, having forced the citadel of Carlisle to surrender, was advancing in pursuit of the Highland army, when he was suddenly recalled to London, in order to assume the command against the threatened invasion from France. The person named as his successor was Lieutenant-general Henry Hawley, of whom, considering the important part which he played in the subsequent period of the rebellion, it may be expedient to say a few words.

This brutal and self-sufficient individual was a person of ordinary capacity, and appears to have been indebted for his advancement to the high post which he now filled, partly to his being a personal favourite of the Duke of Cumberland, and partly to his having served in the royal army in Scotland, during the rebellion of 1715, which it was presumed had given him due experience in the Highland mode of warfare. He, and his unfeeling patron, the Duke of Cumberland, present remarkable exceptions to the general rule—that a brave man is never cruel. His barbarities had already rendered him famous. "General Hawley," writes Horace Walpole, "is marched from Edinburgh to put the rebellion quite out. I must give you some idea of this man, who will give a mortal blow to the pride of the Scotch nobility. He is called *Lord Chief Justice;* frequent and sudden executions are his passion. Last winter he had intelligence of a spy to come from the French army:

the first notice our army had of his arrival was by seeing him dangle on a gallows in his muff and boots. One of the surgeons of the army begged the body of a soldier, who was hanged for desertion, to dissect: 'Well,' said Hawley, 'but then you shall give me the skeleton, to hang up in the guard-room!' He is very brave and able, with no small bias to the brutal. Two years ago, when he arrived at Ghent, the magistrates, according to custom, sent a gentleman, with the offer of a sum of money, to engage his favour; he told the gentleman, in great wrath, that the King his master paid him, and that he should go and tell the magistrates so—at the same time dragging him to the head of the stairs, and kicking him down. He then went to the Town Hall: on their refusing him entrance, he burst open the door with his foot, and seated himself abruptly—told them he had been affronted, was persuaded they had no hand in it, and demanded to have the gentleman given up to him, who never dared to appear in the town while he stayed in it."*

Such was the individual who was deputed by the English Government to fill the post of Commander, or, as it seems rather to have been intended, of Executioner in Chief in Scotland. He caused several executioners to attend his army during its march; and one of his first steps, on arriving at Edinburgh, was to cause two gibbets to be erected, as an indication of the fate of the rebels who might fall into his hands. Such was the military Jeffreys of his age!

* Letter to Sir Horace Mann, 17th January, 1746. Walpole's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 96.

Perhaps enough has already been said of this ferocious savage, whose brutalities only exceeded those of his royal patron, the Duke of Cumberland; but as a picture, even of the dark side of human nature, is always curious, we will allow him to give the finishing touch to the portrait with his own pen. After dwelling, in his last will and testament, on the particular manner in which he desired to be buried, "The priest," he says, "I conclude, will have his fee: let the puppy take it. Pay the carpenter for the *carcass-box*. I give to my sister 5,000*l*. As to my other relations, I have none who want; and, as I never was married, I have no heirs. I have written all this," he adds, "with my own hand; and this I did, because I hate all priests, of all professions, and have the worst opinion of all members of the law."*

On the 13th of January, Hawley led his troops from Edinburgh, with the intention of marching to the relief of Stirling Castle. He arrived at Falkirk on the 16th, and, at the invitation of the Countess of Kilmarnock, whose husband was serving under the Prince's standard, he took up his quarters at Callander House, the seat of the Countess. This lady is said to have lavished the charms of her gaiety and wit on the English general, with the insidious intention of keeping him from the performance of his military duties, and perhaps with the hope (and, if so, the plot of the wily lady proved an eminently successful one) that his army might be surprised in the absence of their chief.

* General Hawley died, possessed of considerable property, about the year 1759. His will is dated 29th March, 1749.

The infatuation of this military ruffian on all points connected with his critical position, almost exceeds belief. Notwithstanding the lessons which the Highlanders had taught the King's troops, both at Preston Pans and Clifton, he persisted in retaining the most contemptible opinion of his hardy and gallant opponents. In opposition to past experience, he always expressed it as his fixed opinion, that the Highlanders were incapable of withstanding a charge of cavalry, if the latter were ably and properly conducted. This notion he seems to have formed from the success which had attended a spirited charge of the English cavalry at Sheriffmuir, on which occasion he had been engaged in the right wing of the Duke of Argyll's army. The insurgent army he affected to designate as "the Highland rabble;" and he neglected even the commonest precautions to ensure success to his arms. Vaunting, confident, and self-sufficient, he affected to attribute the loss of the battle of Preston Pans to General Cope's cowardice and inefficiency; and even on the very eve of the day on which the battle of Falkirk was fought, he pertinaciously insisted that the Highlanders would never dare to encounter him, but would disperse themselves on the first tidings of his approach.

In the meantime, Charles, having ascertained that General Hawley was pushing forward to give him battle, advanced his army to Bannockburn on the 17th, where they were drawn up on the plain to the east of the village, about seven miles from the English camp at Falkirk. Expecting momentarily to see

the English columns advancing towards him, he drew up his men in order of battle, and awaited the attack. Hawley was at this time enjoying the hospitalities of Callander House and the fascination of Lady Kilmarnock's society; and as he showed but little inclination to advance, Charles (who, to use the language of one of his followers, had "acquired a strong relish for battles"*) summoned a council of war, when it was determined to anticipate the advance of the royal forces by an immediate attack.

The Highland army had forded the water of Carden, within three miles of Hawley's camp, before the royalists received the least notice of their intention. It was about one o'clock, and the English soldiers were on the point of sitting down to dinner, when a countryman rushed into the camp, exclaiming, "Gentlemen, what are you about? the Highlanders will be immediately upon you!" Some of the officers cried out, "Seize that rascal; he is spreading a false alarm." Two of the bystanders, however, climbed a neighbouring tree, and, by means of a telescope, having discovered the advancing lines of the Highlanders, they announced the startling fact to their companions.

A messenger was immediately dispatched to General Hawley at Callander House, who shortly afterwards galloped up in breathless haste. He was without his hat, and had all the appearance of having recently risen from Lady Kilmarnock's hospitable board. In the words of one of the Jacobite ballads of the period:

* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 84.

" Gae dight your face, and turn the chase,
For fierce the wind does blaw, Hawley,
And Highland Geordie's at your tail,
Wi' Drummond, Perth, and a', Hawley.

Had ye but staid wi' lady's maid
An hour, or may be twa, Hawley,
Your bacon bouk, and bastard snout,
Ye might have saved them a', Hawley.

Up and rin awa, Hawley,
Up and rin awa, Hawley;
The philabegs are coming doon,
To gie your lugs a claw, Hawley."

Hawley's first step was to order his three regiments of dragoons to gallop with all speed to the top of Falkirk Muir. They pushed forward, followed by a large body of infantry, who marched up the hill with their bayonets fixed; but the day had now become overcast, and a violent storm of wind and rain beating directly in the faces of the soldiers, almost blinded them. The cavalry had gained a considerable distance in advance of the infantry, and for some time it seemed a kind of race between the Highlanders and the dragoons, who should first arrive at the summit of the hill. Hawley—who, whatever were his faults, was no craven — presented a conspicuous object, urging forward at the head of his dragoons, his head uncovered, and his white hairs streaming in the wind, and by his words and gestures exhorting his men to increased energy and speed.

The Highlanders, however, were the first to attain the summit of the hill, thus obtaining the advantage of having their backs turned to the high wind and heavy rain, which pelted directly against the faces of the English. The latter had to contend against other

disadvantages. They were annoyed by the smoke caused by their own fire; many of their pieces were rendered unserviceable by the rain; and, moreover, their artillery stuck fast in a morass, from whence no efforts could extricate it. As the Highlanders had been compelled to leave their artillery behind them, neither army, in this respect, could boast of any advantage over the other. Their relative force also was very nearly equal, each army numbering about eight thousand men.

Foiled in his first attempt to obtain an advantage over the Highlanders, Hawley drew up his army in order of battle on the lower ground. "The English," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "began the attack with a body of about eleven hundred cavalry, who advanced very slowly against the right of our army, and did not halt till they were within twenty paces of our first line, to induce us to fire. The Highlanders, who had been particularly enjoined not to fire till the army was within musket-length of them, the moment the cavalry halted, discharged their muskets and killed about eighty men, each of them having aimed at a rider. The commander of this body of cavalry, who had advanced some paces before his men, was of the number. The cavalry closing their ranks, which were opened by our discharge, put spurs to their horses, and rushed upon the Highlanders at a hard trot, breaking their ranks, throwing down everything before them, and trampling the Highlanders under the feet of their horses. The most singular and extraordinary combat immediately followed. The Highlanders, stretched on the ground,

thrust their dirks into the bellies of the horses. Some seized the riders by their clothes, dragged them down, and stabbed them with their dirks; several again used their pistols; but few of them had sufficient space to handle their swords. Macdonald of Clanranald, chief of one of the clans of the Macdonalds, assured me that whilst he was lying upon the ground under a dead horse which had fallen upon him, without the power of extricating himself, he saw a dismounted horseman struggling with a Highlander; fortunately for him, the Highlander, being the strongest, threw his antagonist, and having killed him with his dirk, he came to his assistance and drew him with difficulty from under his horse. The resistance of the Highlanders was so incredibly obstinate, that the English, after having been for some time engaged pell-mell with them in their ranks, were at length repulsed, and forced to retire. The Highlanders did not neglect the advantage they had obtained, but pursued them keenly with their swords, running as fast as their horses, and not allowing them a moment's time to recover from their fright; so that the English cavalry, falling back on their own infantry, drawn up in order of battle behind them, threw them immediately into disorder, and carried the right wing of their army with them in their flight."*

Subsequently some of the dragoons rallied, and, supported by a body of infantry which had not been hitherto engaged, they advanced to the charge. At this crisis, Charles marched up at the head of his

* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 121.

reserved corps, consisting of Lord John Drummond's regiment and the Irish piquets, and turned the scale in favour of the Highlanders. The dragoons again gave way, and again disordered the infantry in their flight. There can be little doubt but that few, if any, of the royalists would have escaped, had not General Huske, the second in command, and Brigadier Cholmondeley, made a gallant stand with the forces which they could collect together, and thus enabled the main body of the army to make good their retreat to the town of Falkirk. Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons, who had behaved so shamefully at Colt Bridge and Preston Pans, were the first who also gave way at the battle of Falkirk. As they were borne back through the disordered ranks of their own infantry, they were heard to exclaim in terrified voices,—"Dear brethren, we shall all be massacred this day!" Cobham's dragoons were the last who fled, and as they galloped down a ravine which led them to the town of Falkirk, received a sharp volley from the Highland line.

The whole of these events occupied less than a quarter of an hour. "Some individuals," says Chambers, "who beheld the battle from the steeple at Falkirk, used to describe its main events as occupying a surprisingly brief space of time. They first saw the English army enter the misty and storm-covered moor at the top of the hill; then saw the dull atmosphere thickened by a fast-rolling smoke, and heard the pealing sounds of the discharge; immediately after, they saw the discomfited troops burst wildly from the cloud in which they had been

involved, and rush in far-spread disorder over the face of the hill. From the commencement till what they styled 'the *break* of the battle,' there did not intervene more than ten minutes — so soon may an efficient body of men become, by one transient emotion of cowardice, a feeble and contemptible rabble." *

It was twilight when the battle of Falkirk was fought, and in consequence of the increasing darkness, and the violence of the wind and rain, Lord George Murray, after doing his utmost to ascertain the movements and intentions of the enemy, deemed it imprudent to follow up his success by pursuing them into the town of Falkirk, lest some stratagem or ambuscade might have been prepared for him. So sudden, indeed, had been the issue of the conflict, and such was the confusion occasioned by the darkness of the night, which had now set in, and by the inclemency of the elements, that the greater portion of the Highland army were ignorant of their own success, and remained on the field of battle, scattered, disordered, and irresolute. Many of them are said to have actually sought safety in flight, under the impression that the English had gained the victory. Apprehensive of some sudden attack, the majority knew not which way to turn. Observing no enemy near them, they were heard inquiring of each other in Gaelic,—"What is become of them,—where are they?" — And when Lord John Drummond, who had been a general officer in the French service, beheld the flight of the Scots Royal, he could

* History of the Rebellion, p. 66.

scarcely believe his own senses. "These men," he said, "behaved admirably at Fontenoy,—surely this is a feint!"

Charles, previous to the charge which led to the final discomfiture of the English army, had taken up his position in the second line on a rising ground, which is still known by the name of CHARLIE'S HILL, and which is now covered with wood. Sir Thomas Sheridan, in his narrative of the action which he drew up and transmitted to the Kings of France and Spain, observes,—"After an easy victory, gained by eight thousand over twelve thousand,* we remained masters of the field of battle; but as it was near five o'clock before it ended, and as it required time for the Highlanders to recover their muskets, rejoin their colours, and form again in order, it was quite night before we could follow the fugitives. The Prince, who at the beginning of the action had been conjured, for the love of his troops, not to expose himself, was in the second line of the piquets; but as soon as the left wing was thrown into some disorder, he flew to their relief with an ardour that was not to be restrained. In the disposition of his troops, he followed the advice of Lord George Murray, who commanded the right wing, and fought on foot during the whole action at the head of his Highlanders. Lord John Drummond commanded the left, and distinguished himself extremely. He took two prisoners with his own hand, had his horse shot

* This is an exaggeration. It has already been mentioned that the numbers of the two armies were very nearly equal, both amounting to about eight thousand men.

under him, and was wounded in the left arm with a musket-ball."

At the battle of Falkirk,—according to the accounts published "by authority,"—the English lost in all only two hundred and eighty in killed, wounded, and missing; but, according to all other accounts, their loss must have amounted to about twenty officers, and about four or five hundred privates. Sir Harry Monro of Fowlis, in a pathetic letter addressed to the Lord President, observes,—"This battle proves to me a series of woe. There both my dear father and uncle, Obsdale, were slain. The last, your Lordship knows, had no particular business to go to the action; but out of a most tender love and concern for his brother, could not be dissuaded from attending him, to give assistance if need required. My father, after being deserted, was attacked by six of Lochiel's regiment, and for some time defended himself with his half-pike. Two of the six, I am informed, he killed. A seventh, coming up, fired a pistol into my father's groin; upon which, falling, the Highlander with his sword gave him two strokes in the face, one over the eyes and another on the mouth, which instantly ended a brave man. The same Highlander fired another pistol into my uncle's breast, and with his sword terribly slashed him; whom when killed, he then dispatched a servant of my father's. That thus my dearest father and uncle perished, I am informed; and this information I can depend on, as it comes from some who were eye-witnesses to it. My father's corpse was honourably interred in the churchyard of Falkirk,

by direction of the Earl of Cromartie; and the Macdonalds, and all the chiefs attended his funeral. Sir Robert's was the only body on the field on our side that was taken care of." *

Several prisoners were made, the greater number of which were sent to the romantic castle of Doune. Among these was John Home, the celebrated author of "Douglas." "In 1746," says Sir Walter Scott, "a garrison, on the part of the Chevalier, was put into the castle, then less ruinous than at present. It was commanded by Mr. Stewart of Balloch, as governor for Prince Charles. He was a man of property near Callander. The castle became at that time the actual scene of a romantic escape made by John Home, the author of 'Douglas,' and some other prisoners, who, having been taken at the battle of Falkirk, were confined there by the insurgents. The poet, who had in his own mind a large stock of that romantic and enthusiastic spirit of adventure, which he has described as animating the youthful hero of his drama, devised and undertook the perilous enterprise of escaping from his prison. He inspired his companions with his sentiments, and when every attempt at open force was deemed hopeless, they resolved to twist their bed-clothes into ropes, and thus to descend. Four persons, with Home himself, reached the ground in safety; but the rope broke with the fifth, who was a tall lusty man. The sixth was Thomas Barrow, a brave young Englishman, a particular friend of Home's. Determined to take the risk, even in such unfavourable circum-

* Culloden Papers, p. 267.

stances, Barrow committed himself to the broken rope; slid down on it as far as it could assist him, and then let himself drop. His friends beneath succeeded in breaking his fall. Nevertheless, he dislocated his ankle, and had several of his ribs broken. His companions, however, were able to bear him off in safety. The Highlanders, next morning, sought for their prisoners with great activity. An old gentleman told the author, he remembered seeing the commander Stewart,—

'Bloody with spurring, fiery red with haste,'

riding furiously through the country in quest of the fugitives."*

The loss of the Highlanders at the battle of Falkirk is usually computed as only thirty-two officers and men killed in action, and one hundred and twenty wounded. The royalists made only one prisoner, and the circumstances of his capture were somewhat singular. The unfortunate person in question was a gentleman of the Macdonald clan, a brother of Macdonald of Keppoch, who, having dismounted an English officer, took possession of his horse, a very valuable animal, and immediately mounted it. Almost at the same moment, the English dragoons, routed in their contest with the Highlanders, galloped off in full flight. The animal, either desirous of returning to his old quarters, or carried forward by excitement into the midst of his flying companions, hurried his unlucky rider into the English ranks, notwithstanding all his efforts to restrain him. "The

* Note to Waverley, chap. xxxviii.

melancholy, and, at the same time, ludicrous figure," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "which poor Macdonald cut, may be easily conceived." The Duke of Cumberland, however, had no taste for the ludicrous, and "poor Macdonald" perished shortly afterwards on the scaffold.

Setting fire to their tents, and abandoning Falkirk with their baggage and train, the English army passed the night of the battle in the ancient and once splendid palace of Linlithgow and in its vicinity. Half perishing from the cold and rain, they lighted such large fires on the hearths as to cause considerable alarm in the minds of the inhabitants lest the edifice should catch fire. One of these persons—a lady of the Livingstone family, who had apartments in the palace—remonstrated with General Hawley on the reckless conduct of his men. Finding that her entreaties met only with contempt, "General," was the retort of the high-spirited lady, "I can run away from fire as fast as you can;" and having given vent to this sarcastic speech, she took horse for Edinburgh. Within an hour or two, her fears were actually realized. The venerable palace—the birth-place of Mary, Queen of Scots—caught fire, and was almost entirely destroyed.*

General Hawley, who had boasted that with two

* "Of all the palaces so fair,
Built for the royal dwelling,
In Scotland, far beyond compare
Linlithgow is excelling;
And in its park in jovial June,
How sweet the merry linnets tune,
How blithe the blackbird's lay!

regiments of dragoons he would drive the insurgents from one end of the kingdom to the other, was censured in all quarters for his conduct both before and after the battle. He appears to have felt his own disgrace most severely; and the more so, perhaps, from the remembrance of his previous boastings, and the taunts which he had formerly heaped on Sir John Cope. General Wightman writes to President Forbes on the 22nd of January,—"General Hawley is in much the same situation as General Cope. He was never seen in the field during the battle, and everything would have gone to wreck in a worse manner than at Preston, if General Huske had not acted with judgment and courage, and appeared everywhere. Hawley seems to be sensible of his misconduct; for, when I was with him on Saturday morning at Linlithgow, he looked most wretchedly; even worse than Cope did a few hours after his scuffle, when I saw him at Fala."*

"In the drawing-room," says Sir Walter Scott, "which took place at St. James's on the day the news arrived, all countenances were marked with doubt and apprehension excepting those of George the Second, the Earl of Stair, and Sir John Cope, who was radiant with joy at Hawley's discomfiture. In-

> The wild-buck-bells from ferny brake,
> The coot dives merry on the lake,
> The saddest heart might pleasure take
> To see all nature gay." *Marmion.*

It has been said that the English soldiers deliberately set the palace of Linlithgow on fire, by raking the live embers from the hearths into the straw pallets, but there is much reason to doubt the fact.

* Culloden Papers, p. 267.

deed, the idea of the two generals was so closely connected, that a noble peer of Scotland, upon the same day, addressed Sir John Cope by the title of General Hawley, to the no small amusement of those who heard the *quid pro quo*."* Many weeks previous, Cope had been heard to offer bets, to the amount of ten thousand guineas, that the first general sent to command an army against the Highlanders would be beaten. He is even said to have realised a considerable sum by the success of his wagers;† and, what was of more importance to him, to a certain degree he recovered his honour. On the authority of a pamphlet, which has been attributed to Hume the historian, he is said, during the whole winter which succeeded his defeat at Preston Pans, to have been carried about London in a sedan-chair to conceal himself from the derision of the mob. When the news, however, arrived of Hawley's discomfiture at Falkirk, he is stated to have pulled back the curtains of his chair, and to have displayed "his face and red ribbon to all the world."

* Prose Works, vol. xix. p. 303. † Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 106.

CHAPTER XII.

Charles continues his Retreat northward.— Duke of Cumberland resumes the Command of the Army of the North. — His Arrival at Stirling. — Charles's Escape from Lord Loudon's Snare to take his person. — Retaliates by attacking Lord Loudon at Inverness. — Chivalrous Adventure of Lord G. Murray. — Incidents showing the Attachment of the Scottish Ladies to the Cause of the Chevalier.— Commences his March for Culloden.

On the night on which the battle of Falkirk was fought, Charles, who had been exposed for five hours to the inclemency of the weather and the pelting of the storm, was conducted by torchlight to the house of a Jacobite lady of the name of Graham, the widow of a physician. Though the house in question was considered the best in the town of Falkirk, Charles was compelled to hold his small court and eat his meals in the same apartment in which he slept, his bed being concealed from view by folding doors. The house, which still remains, is opposite the steeple, and is now used as the Post-office.* Charles passed only one night at Falkirk, and on the 18th returned to Bannockburn, leaving Lord George Murray behind with a portion of his army.

From the success which had attended his arms at Falkirk, Charles derived but little advantage besides glory. Instead of pursuing and annihilating Hawley's army before they could make good their retreat to

* Chambers, p. 67.

Edinburgh, he insisted that it would be a disgrace to his arms were he to raise the siege of Stirling; and accordingly the operations were renewed with increased vigour. But the fortunes of Charles were now evidently on the decline. The chiefs had become disgusted at being no longer summoned to consult with him in regard to the movements of the army; while the common men, as was customary with them after a victory, deserted daily in great numbers, with the view of depositing their plunder in safety with their wives and families.

Charles was still engaged in carrying on the siege of Stirling, when, to his great grief and surprise, he received a paper signed by Lord George Murray, Lochiel, Keppoch, Clanranald, and all the leading chieftains, urging upon him the absolute necessity of effecting an immediate retreat to the North. So great, they said, had been the desertion in their ranks, that not only must they expect to be defeated in the event of an engagement, but at the present moment they were not even in a fit condition to carry on the siege of Stirling. Their only hopes, they added, of insuring ultimate success, lay in an immediate march to Inverness, where they would be enabled to annihilate the forces under Lord Loudon, and, by capturing the different Highland fortresses, make themselves the undisputed masters of the North. They concluded by assuring the Prince, that they would continue cheerfully in this case to serve beneath his banner, and, with an army of eight or ten thousand men, which they doubted not they would be able to raise, would follow his fortunes wherever he pleased.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this abrupt communication from the Highland chieftains amounted rather to a command than a remonstrance. Such was the light in which it was viewed by the young Prince, whose manner betrayed the most violent emotion while perusing the terms of the unpalatable proposition. Dashing his hand with such violence against the wall as to cause him to stagger back,—"Good God!" he exclaimed, "have I lived to see this?" Some attempt was made by him, through the medium of Sir Thomas Sheridan, to induce the refractory chiefs to alter their resolution; but finding it ineffectual, he sullenly and reluctantly assented to the terms of his domineering followers.*

Notwithstanding that General Hawley had the good fortune to retain the favour of his sovereign, it was deemed expedient to send a general to Scotland in whom the soldiers had greater confidence, and accordingly the Duke of Cumberland was selected for the purpose. Not only was he at this period a great favourite with the army, but it was also hoped that the circumstance of his being a prince of the blood might produce a beneficial effect on the minds of the Scottish people. He was nearly of the same age as Charles—namely, twenty-five,—the Chevalier being the older by only four months.

Quitting London on the 26th of January, the Duke arrived at Edinburgh on the 30th, having performed the journey in what was then considered the very short space of four days. He took up his quarters at

* John Hay's account of the retreat from Falkirk. Home's Appendix, p. 355.

Holyrood, where he slept in the same bed that had been occupied by his unfortunate cousin during the period he remained at Edinburgh. After resting himself for two hours, he rose and proceeded to the despatch of business with Generals Hawley and Huske. Later in the day, he held a levee in the same gallery, in which Charles had previously held his gay court, and had given his balls to the ladies of Edinburgh. The principal citizens had the honour of kissing his hand, and his levee was also attended by several Whig ladies of distinction. The Duke kissed the latter all round, expressing, at the same time, his satisfaction at their loyalty and zeal.*

On the 31st, the Duke took his leave of Holyrood, having remained in Edinburgh only thirty hours. At night he slept at Linlithgow, and the next day walked to Falkirk on foot at the head of the Scots Royal. On his arrival at the latter town, he is said to have enquired for the house which "his cousin had occupied," being sure, he said, that it would be the most comfortable and best-provisioned in the place. Here he passed the night, in the same bed in which Charles had slept on the evening of the battle of Falkirk. The following morning he marched to Stirling, with the intention of giving the insurgents battle; but, on his arrival there, he learned that they had evacuated the place on the preceding day.

Quitting Stirling on the 1st of February, the Highland army marched to Dumblane, at which place they encamped for the night, Charles himself sleeping at Drummond Castle, the seat of the Duke of

* Chambers, p. 73.

Perth. The following night they arrived at Crieff, near which place Charles took up his quarters at Fairnton, the residence of Lord John Drummond.

The march of the insurgent army was conducted with so much haste and confusion, as to resemble a flight rather than a retreat. Their young leader seemed almost broken-hearted, and, to all appearance, took but little interest in the movements or discipline of his army. At Crieff, a separation was decided upon; one division of the insurgent forces, headed by Charles, and consisting chiefly of the Highland clans, marching towards Inverness by the Highland road, and the other, commanded by Lord George Murray, taking the coast-road by Montrose and Aberdeen. During their progress, the two divisions severally carried off their garrisons from the towns through which they passed.

On approaching Inverness, Charles found it in the possession of Lord Loudon, who had to a certain degree fortified it by throwing round it a ditch and palisade. Here he had cooped himself up, with a small army of two thousand men, consisting chiefly of the Grants, Monros, Rosses, Macdonalds of Skye, and the Macleods. Taking with him a small guard of three hundred Highlanders, Charles took up his quarters in the Castle of Moy, situated about sixteen miles from Edinburgh. This place was the principal residence of the Laird of Macintosh, who, though supposed to be secretly attached to the cause of the Stuarts, was now holding a commission in Lord Loudon's army. His lady, however, a daughter of Farquharson of Invercauld, remained at Moy, too happy

to perform the rites of hospitality for her illustrious guest. "Of all the fine ladies," says General Stewart, "few were more accomplished, more beautiful, or more enthusiastic." Devoted, like the majority of her countrywomen, to the cause of the exiled family, she had distinguished herself by raising the fighting-men of her husband's ancient clan to the number of three hundred; and though the command of them in the field was entrusted by her to Mac Gillivray of Drumnaglass, yet she herself had ridden more than once at their head, clad in a tartan riding-habit richly laced, with a Highland bonnet on her head, and pistols at her saddle-bow.* Her husband at a later period being taken prisoner by the insurgents, Charles delivered him to his wife, saying, "he could not be in better security, or more honourably treated."

Charles was quietly enjoying the hospitalities of Moy, waiting till the arrival of his forces should enable him to attack Lord Loudon in his entrenchments, when he very nearly fell into a snare which had been laid for him by that nobleman, who, by gaining possession of the Chevalier's person, hoped to put an end at once to the war. With this object, on the night of the 16th of February, he ordered out fifteen hundred of his followers, with instructions to march as stealthily as possible to Moy, and to seize the Prince's person at all hazards. Fortunately for Charles, he received timely intimation of the plot which was laid for him. "Whilst some English officers," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "were drinking in the house of Mrs. Bailly, an innkeeper

* Tales of a Grandfather, vol. iii. p. 270.

in Inverness, and passing the time till the hour of their departure, her daughter, a girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age, who happened to wait on them, paid great attention to their conversation, and, from certain expressions dropped by them, she discovered their designs. As soon as this generous girl was certain as to their intentions, she immediately left the house, escaped from the town, notwithstanding the vigilance of the sentinels, and immediately took the road to Moy, running as fast as she was able, without shoes or stockings—which, to accelerate her progress, she had taken off—in order to inform the Prince of the danger that menaced him. She reached Moy, quite out of breath, before Lord Loudon; and the Prince with difficulty escaped in his robe-de-chambre, night-cap, and slippers, to the neighbouring mountains, where he passed the night in concealment. This dear girl, to whom the Prince owed his life, was in great danger of losing her own, from her excessive fatigue on this occasion; but the care and attentions she experienced restored her to life. The Prince, having no suspicion of such a daring attempt, had very few people with him in the Castle of Moy."*

According to other accounts, the Lady of Moy received the first intimation of Lord Loudon's intentions by two letters from Inverness; the one from Fraser of Gortuleg, and the other from her own mother. In whatever manner, however, the plot may have transpired, the circumstances under which it is said to have been subsequently defeated were not a little curious. Lady Macintosh, it seems, had employed

* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 145.

five or six persons, headed by the blacksmith of the clan, to act as patrols on the road between Moy and Inverness. In the course of the night, their ears caught the distant sound of Lord Loudon's advancing force, on which the blacksmith, with great promptitude, placed his men in ambush at different points by the side of the road, giving them orders not to fire till they should hear the report of his own musket, and then, not to fire altogether, but one after another. As soon as the enemy came within musket-shot, the blacksmith fired his piece at the advancing column, by which the piper of the Laird of Macleod, considered the best in the Highlands, was killed. The remainder then fired off their muskets as they had been directed, at the same time shouting out the well-known war-cries of Lochiel, Keppoch, and other clans—thus impressing their adversaries with the idea that a snare had been laid for them, and that the whole of the Highland army was advancing upon them. Fully convinced that such was the fact, and confused by the darkness of the night, they fled in the utmost precipitation, throwing down and trampling upon their terrified companions in the rear, and never desisting from their rapid flight till they found themselves in safety at Inverness. So great was their terror and confusion, that a brave officer, the Master of Ross, who afterwards passed through a long life as a soldier, and was exposed to many perils, was heard to declare in his old age, that never had he been in so piteous a condition as at the *Rout of Moy*.

The following day Charles determined to retaliate

on Lord Loudon, by attacking him in his quarters. Inverness, however, was in no condition to stand a siege; nor had Lord Loudon a sufficient force under his command to enable him to cope with the Highlanders; and accordingly, when the insurgents appeared before the town, they found that the Earl had evacuated it, and had transported his troops into Rosshire. Two days afterwards the citadel, or fort, also surrendered, and about the same time Lord George Murray arrived, at the head of his division, having suffered many privations during a long march through a country covered with snow. During the stay of Charles at Inverness, he resided in the house of Lady Drummuir, the mother of Lady Macintosh, being, it is said, the only house in the town which boasted of an apartment in which there was no bed.* After the battle of Culloden, the Duke of Cumberland, much to the annoyance of Lady Drummuir, occupied the same apartment and the same bed in which Charles had previously slept. "I have had two King's bairns living with me in my time," said the lady, "and, to tell you the truth, I wish I may never hae another."

The military operations which were carried on during the eight weeks which intervened between the arrival of Charles at Inverness and the fatal battle of Culloden, present but few incidents of any great importance, and may be detailed in a short space. On the 20th of February Fort George fell into the hands of the insurgents, and on the 5th of March, Fort Augustus was also taken and destroyed. In the at-

* Chambers, p. 77.

tack on Fort William, the insurgents were less successful, for the place was so ably and vigorously defended by Captain Scott, and was so well supplied by sea with provisions, and other military supplies, that, in the beginning of April, they found themselves compelled to abandon the enterprise. About the same time, an inroad was made by the Earl of Cromarty into Rosshire, whither he followed Lord Loudon, compelling him to disband his forces, and forcing him to take refuge in the Isle of Skye.

But another adventurous, and even chivalrous expedition, which was conducted by Lord George Murray, about the middle of March, into his own country, Athol, deserves a more lengthened notice. Several military posts, consisting chiefly of the houses of private gentlemen—such as Kinnachin, Blairfettie, Lude, Faskallie, and others—had been established in that country by the Duke of Cumberland. They were, generally speaking, buildings of some antiquity, and of a castellated form, and having been partially fortified by order of the Duke, were severally garrisoned by small detachments from the regular army. Deeming it of considerable importance to make himself master of these scattered fortresses—about thirty in number—Lord George Murray placed himself at the head of seven hundred Highlanders, and commenced his march in the twilight from Dalwhinnie. As he was entering into the heart of an enemy's country, where a force much larger than his own might, on the slightest alarm, be easily concentred against him, he decided on making an attack on each of the small forts at one and the same time He divided his

force, therefore, into different parties, and assigned to each a particular point of attack—directing them, after having accomplished the duty confided to them, to repair to him at the Bridge of Bruar, if possible before the break of day.

In the meantime, some intimation of the Highlanders being abroad had reached the ears of Sir Andrew Agnew, who had been appointed governor of the Castle of Blair, with a large garrison under his command. Anxious to ascertain the intentions and numerical force of the enemy, he sallied forth from Blair Castle late in the night, with five hundred armed men, and proceeded in the direction of the bridge of Bruar, only two miles distant from his own post. Lord George Murray was already at the place of rendezvous, anxiously awaiting the return of his followers, when he received the news of Sir Andrew Agnew's approach. The force which he had under him amounted only to twenty-five men. Resistance, therefore, was out of the question, and it was strongly urged that the little party should make good their retreat to the neighbouring mountains. To this advice Lord George Murray turned a deaf ear, and his reply was worthy of the man. "No," he said, "if we leave the place of rendezvous, our parties, as they return in detail from discharging the duty intrusted to them, will be liable to be surprised by the enemy. This must not be. I will rather try what can be done to impose upon Sir Andrew Agnew's caution by a fictitious display of strength."

His plan was rapidly devised and executed. He drew up his small company, within a certain dis-

tance from each other, in a continuous line, along a stone dyke, so as to give them as much as possible the appearance of an extended and formidable front. Fortunately he had with him all the pipers of the force, and these he ordered to strike up, and the colours to be elevated, as soon as the royalists should appear in view. The stratagem fully answered his expectations. On the approach of Sir Andrew Agnew and his followers, the pipers sounded their thrilling pibroch, while the Highlanders, who had all the appearance of officers at the head of men preparing to charge, brandished their broadswords as they had previously been directed. Sir Andrew was completely deceived. Believing that he was on the point of being attacked by a force far superior to his own, and apprehensive that another party of Highlanders might have been dispatched in the meantime to make themselves masters of Blair Castle, he deemed it more safe and prudent to march his garrison back to that place. Lord George Murray remained at the Bridge of Bruar till he was joined by his several detachments, all of which had completely succeeded in performing the duties confided to them.

Lord George Murray now determined to lay siege to Blair Castle, a strong old fortress belonging to his brother, the Duke of Athol, and which had long been the residence of his ancestors. He was, indeed, but indifferently provided with artillery and with the requisites for effectually carrying on a siege; but he still hoped to reduce the place by famine before succour could arrive from the Duke of Cumberland. With this view he established a close blockade, direct-

ing his men to keep a sharp look-out, and to fire on any person who might shew himself either on the battlements or at any of the windows.

The governor of Blair Castle was a person of considerable importance and notoriety in his day. "Sir Andrew Agnew," says Sir Walter Scott, "famous in Scottish tradition, was a soldier of the old military school, severe in discipline, stiff and formal in manners, brave to the last degree, but somewhat of an humourist, upon whom his young officers were occasionally tempted to play tricks not entirely consistent with the respect due to their commandant. At the siege of Blair, some of the young wags had obtained an old uniform coat of the excellent Sir Andrew, which, having stuffed with straw, they placed in a small window of a turret, with a spy-glass in the hand, as if in the act of reconnoitering the besiegers. This apparition did not escape the hawk's eyes of the Highlanders, who continued to pour their fire upon the turret window without producing any adequate effect. The best deer-stalkers of Athol and Badenoch persevered, nevertheless, and wasted, as will easily be believed, their ammunition in vain on this impassible commander. At length Sir Andrew himself became curious to know what could possibly induce so constant a fire upon that particular point of the castle. He made some inquiry, and discovered the trick which had been played. His own head being as insensible to a jest of any kind as his peruke had proved to the balls of the Highlanders, he placed the contumacious wags under arrest, and threatened to proceed against them still more seriously; and

would certainly have done so, but, by good fortune for them, the blockade was raised after the garrison had suffered the extremity of famine."*

Another rather amusing anecdote is related in connection with Sir Andrew Agnew and the siege of Blair Castle. Ensign, afterwards General Melville, observes in his "Genuine Narrative" of the Blockade,—"Lord George here played off a jocular experiment upon the well-known choleric temper of Sir Andrew Agnew. He sent down a summons, written on a very shabby piece of paper, requiring the Baronet forthwith to surrender the castle, garrison, stores, &c. No Highlander could be prevailed upon to carry that summons; but the errand was undertaken by a handsome Highland girl, the maid of M'Glashan's inn at Blair, the rendezvous of Sir Andrew's officers. She conceived herself on so good a footing with some of the young officers that she need not be afraid of being shot, taking care, however, as she approached the castle to wave the paper containing the summons over her head, in token of her embassy. She delivered her message with much earnestness, and strongly advised a compliance, as the Highlanders were a thousand strong, and would batter the castle about their ears. The young officers relished the joke, desired Molly to return and tell those gentlemen they would soon be driven away, when the garrison would become visitors at M'Glashan's as before; but she insisted that the summons should be delivered to the governor, and a timid Lieutenant, with a constitution impaired by drinking, was prevailed upon to

* Tales of a Grandfather, vol. iii. p. 278.

carry it. No sooner, however, did the peerless knight hear something of it read, than he furiously drove the Lieutenant from his presence to return the paper, vociferating after him a volley of epithets against Lord George Murray, and threatening to shoot through the head any other messenger he should send; which Molly overhearing, was glad to retreat in safety with her summons to her employer, who, with Lord Nairn, Cluny, and some other chiefs, were waiting in the churchyard of Blair to receive her, and appeared highly diverted with her report."* The blockade of Blair Castle lasted till the 31st of March. By this time the garrison were reduced to extremities from want of food, and they seem to have been on the point of surrendering, when the timely approach of the Earl of Crawford with a large body of Hessian troops compelled Lord George Murray to raise the siege, and make good his retreat to Inverness.

In the meantime, the Duke of Cumberland had pursued the insurgents as far as Perth, where he arrived on the 6th of February. The rapidity, however, with which the movements of the Highland army were conducted, had already enabled them to obtain three days' march in advance of him; and when the Duke reached Perth,—owing to the inclemency of the weather, and the roads which led to Invernesshire being almost impassable,—he determined on quartering his troops there till the weather should prove more propitious.

* "Genuine Narrative of the Blockade of Blair Castle, by a Subaltern Officer employed in the Defence."—*Scot's Magazine*, 1808, p. 332.

Quitting Perth, he followed the same route which had been pursued by Lord George Murray, passing through Angus and Aberdeenshire, in which counties he found the inhabitants opposed to the claims of the House of Hanover, almost to a man. Horace Walpole writes to Sir Horace Mann on the 21st of March,—"The Duke complains extremely of the *loyal* Scotch: he says he can get no intelligence, and reckons himself more in an enemy's country than when he was warring with the French in Flanders." At Forfar, he very nearly captured a party who were publicly beating up for recruits for the service of the Chevalier; and on the morning on which he quitted Glammis Castle, the seat of the Earl of Strathmore, not only was it discovered that the girths of all his horses had been cut during the night in order to retard his march, but on his taking his leave, the family ordered the bed in which he had slept to be taken down, in order that their ancient residence might retain as few mementos as possible, of its having been the resting-place of so offensive a guest. In passing through the town of Brechin, where his progress was rendered difficult by the immense crowd, the face of a young and beautiful girl, who was standing on a "stair-head," caught the eye of the young Duke. He paid a particular tribute to her beauty by raising his hat to her; but instead of his gallantry meeting with the return which might naturally have been expected by a young Prince at the head of a gallant army, the fair girl not only received the compliment with signs of the most thorough contempt, but is even said to have

returned it "with a gesture which does not admit of description."*

The Duke of Cumberland remained at Aberdeen from the 25th of February till the 8th of April, on which latter day he recommenced his march towards Inverness with the last division of his army. On the 10th he reached Banff, where he seized and hung two spies, who were found employed in notching the numbers of his army upon sticks. On the 11th he reached Cullen, and on the 12th found himself on the banks of the Spey. It has frequently excited astonishment that the passage of the royal troops over this deep and rapid mountain stream was not disputed by the Highlanders. Had Charles adopted this step, there can be little doubt that either the Duke of Cumberland must have been compelled to turn back, or, had he succeeded in forcing the passage of the river, it could only have been effected with considerable loss. This unfortunate error can be accounted for only on the supposition, that the Duke's advance at so early a period of the year was unexpected by his opponents.

On the afternoon of the 12th, the Spey was forded by the royal army in three divisions, their bands playing the tune,—

> "Will you play me fair play,
> Bonnie laddie, Highland laddie?"

which seems to have been intended as an insult to the Highlanders. "His Royal Highness," says Henderson, "was the first to enter the water at the head of

* Chambers, p. 76.

the horse, who forded it, while the Highlanders and grenadiers passed a little higher: the foot waded over as fast as they arrived, and though the water came up to their middles, they went on with great cheerfulness, and got over with no other loss but that of one dragoon and four women, who were carried down by the stream. Thus was one of the strongest passes in Scotland given up; a pass where two hundred men might easily have kept back an army of twenty thousand; a sure prelude of the destruction of the rebels."*

On the 13th of April, the Duke of Cumberland marched through Elgin to the Muir of Alves, and on the following day advanced to Nairn, only sixteen miles from the Highland camp. The 15th, being the Duke's birthday, was set apart as a day of relaxation and festivity for the whole army.

It was difficult for two armies to be more unequally matched, than those which were so soon about to be opposed to each other on the memorable field of Culloden. The force under the Duke of Cumberland amounted to about nine thousand men; that of Charles to only five thousand. Moreover, not only did there exist this great disparity of numbers; but it must be remembered also that the army under the Duke was comprised of highly disciplined troops, and, moreover, was regularly supplied by a fleet, which moved along the coast, with provisions and every other requisite for effectually carrying on the war. On the other hand, dissensions had crept into the ranks of Charles; he himself was on indifferent terms

* Henderson, p. 112.

with Lord George Murray; his army—owing to the difficulty of keeping the Highlanders together—was widely scattered over the surrounding country; the want of food was hourly occasioning fresh desertions; his troops were disorganized from want of pay; and, indeed, so reduced was the Prince's treasury, that for some time he had been compelled to pay his followers in meal, which had given rise to great discontent.*

Charles, however, notwithstanding the threatening aspect of his affairs, continued to display the same elation of spirits and confidence in his own resources, which had characterized him in the hour of his greatest prosperity. During a visit which he paid to Elgin in the middle of March, he had been attacked by a fever, and for two days his life was in some danger; but, as Captain Warren writes to the old Chevalier, "a timely bleeding hindered the cold turning into a fluxion *de poitrine*, and caused a joy in every heart not to be expressed." However, on his return to Inverness, all traces of indisposition had disappeared, and notwithstanding the near approach of the Duke of Cumberland's army, he usually employed his forenoons in hunting, and his evenings in giving balls, concerts, and parties of pleasure. It may be mentioned that the ladies of Invernesshire betrayed the same enthusiasm in the cause of the young

* "Our army had got no pay in money for some time past, but meal only, which the men being obliged to sell out and convert into money, it went but a short way for their other needs, at which the poor creatures grumbled exceedingly, and were suspicious that we officers had detained it from them."—*Macdonald's Journal, Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 508.

Prince, which had already been displayed by their fair countrywomen in almost every part of Scotland which he had hitherto visited. President Forbes writes to Sir Andrew Mitchell,—"What was more grievous to men of gallantry,—and, if you believe me, more mischievous to the public,—all the fine ladies, if you except one or two, became passionately fond of the young adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner."—"One of the ladies noticed by the President," says General Stewart, "finding she could not prevail upon her husband to join the rebels, though his men were ready, and perceiving one morning that he intended to set off for Culloden with the offers of his service as a loyal subject, contrived, while making tea for breakfast, to pour, as if by accident, a quantity of scalding hot water on his knees and legs, and thus effectually put an end to all active movements on his part for that season, while she dispatched his men to join the rebels, under a commander more obedient to her wishes."

On the 14th of April, Charles received the intelligence of the approach of the royal army to Nairn. He immediately ordered the drums to be beat and the bagpipes to be played through the town of Inverness, for the purpose of collecting his followers; and shortly afterwards, the young Prince appeared himself in the streets, marshalling his men, walking backwards and forwards through their lines, and exhorting them to display the same ardour and undaunted courage which had distinguished them at Preston and Falkirk. He was received and listened to with the most enthu-

siastic acclamations, and voices were heard exclaiming in the crowd, "We'll give Cumberland another Fontenoy!" The Prince then mounted his horse, and, with the colours flying and the bagpipes playing, he marched his troops to Culloden Moor, about four miles from Inverness, and passed the night with his chief officers at Culloden House, the residence of one of the staunchest and ablest partisans of the Government, President Forbes. The night was passed by the remainder of the army under arms on the ground, —"the heath," says a subaltern officer who was present, "serving us both for bedding and fuel, the cold being very severe."* Early on the following morning, Charles drew up his forces in order of battle, under the impression that the Duke of Cumberland was on his march to attack him. In the course of the day, however, Lord Elcho, who had been dispatched to Nairn to watch the movements of the royal army, returned to the camp with the tidings that, being the Duke's birthday, the soldiers were spending it in joviality and mirth, and that there was no appearance of their advancing on that day.

At this eventful period, such was the miserable state of the Prince's commissariat that during the whole of the 15th, a small loaf, and that of the worst description, was all the food which was doled out to the unfortunate Highlanders. "Strange as the averment may appear," says a modern writer, "I have beheld and tasted a piece of the bread served out on this occasion—being the remains of a loaf, or *bannock*, which had been carefully preserved for

* MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel, Lord Mahon, vol. iii. p. 448.

eighty-one years by the successive members of a Jacobite family. It is impossible to imagine a composition of greater coarseness, or less likely either to please or satisfy the appetite; and perhaps no recital, however eloquent, of the miseries to which Charles's army was reduced, could have impressed the reader with so strong an idea of the real extent of that misery, as the sight of this singular relic. Its ingredients appeared to be merely the husks of oats, and a coarse unclean species of dust, similar to what is found upon the floors of a mill."*

Satisfied that the Duke of Cumberland had no intention to resume his march till the following day, Charles called a council of war—the first which he had summoned since he commenced his retreat from Derby—for the purpose of deliberating on the steps which it was most advisable for him to take. Lord George Murray, who was the last to speak except the Prince, argued strongly in favour of a night-march, insisting that, inasmuch as the scarcity of their provisions rendered it imperative on them to hazard an engagement, their prospects of success were likely to be increased in a tenfold degree by attacking the Duke of Cumberland's camp in the dark, and taking his soldiers by surprise, than were they to await the onset of regular troops by daylight in the open field. Charles had been heard to declare, two days before, that he was willing to attack the enemy, had he but a thousand men;† and so entirely, as he

* Chambers, p. 81.

† Letter of Lord George Murray, August 5, 1749. Home, Appendix.

himself informs us, did Lord George's* sentiments coincide with his own, that he rose up and affectionately embraced him. Some objections, indeed, were made to Lord George Murray's proposition, but the debate terminated by a night attack being definitively agreed upon.

* MS. Account of the Transaction, Lord Mahon, vol. iii. p. 449, note.

CHAPTER XIII.

Charles's determination to attack the English Army.—Night March.—His Displeasure at Lord George Murray for ordering a Retreat.—Arrival at Culloden Moor.—Disposition of the contending Armies in sight of each other.—Battle of Culloden.—Total Defeat of the Pretender's Troops—His flight.—Barbarities of the Duke of Cumberland's Soldiers.

HAVING again embraced Lord George Murray, and assigned as the watchword "King James the Eighth," Charles placed himself at the head of his men, and gave the order to march. By the Prince's directions, the heath was set on fire, in order to deceive the enemy into the belief that his troops were occupying the same position. The men were strictly enjoined to march in profound silence, and on no account to speak above their breath. They were also ordered not to make use of their fire-arms in their attack on the enemy's camp, but with their broadswords and Lochaber axes to cut the ropes and poles of the tents, and to stab with their utmost force wherever they perceived any swelling or bulge in the fallen canvas.

As the distance from Culloden Moor to the enemy's camp at Nairn was only nine miles, it was computed that they might easily reach their destination shortly after midnight. Unfortunately, however, there were

many circumstances which tended to retard and embarrass the Highlanders in their march: not only were they greatly impeded by the darkness of the night, but numbers straggled from the ranks in search of food, and when expostulated with by their commanders, they declared that they might shoot them if they pleased, for they would rather die at once than starve any longer. By the time they reached the wood of Kilravock, still greater numbers, overcome by faintness and hunger, declared their utter inability to advance further, and throwing themselves down among the trees, were soon overcome by the sleep of which they stood so greatly in need.

The hour which had been named for the attack was two o'clock in the morning; but when that hour arrived, it was found that the advanced column, under Lord George Murray, was still four miles distant from the English army. At this moment, the distant roll of drums was heard from the enemy's camp. It was evident, therefore, that they could escape observation only a short time longer, and that the object, for which the night-march had been decided upon, had signally failed. The ranks of the Highlanders, moreover, had become frightfully thinned, and of the remainder, so many were exhausted and dispirited from the want of food, that it would have amounted almost to an act of madness to have advanced. Under these circumstances, Lord George Murray, notwithstanding the vehement remonstrances of Hepburn of Keith and others, took upon himself the responsibility of ordering a retreat. He would willingly, perhaps, have consulted with the Prince on

the occasion; but Charles being a considerable distance in the rear, in command of the second column, he had not the opportunity of communicating with him.

When the Prince was informed of the orders which had been given by Lord George Murray, he at first expressed the utmost indignation, though he afterwards exclaimed in a calmer tone, "'Tis no matter; we shall meet them still, and behave like brave fellows."* For having taken the step which he did, a most unfounded charge of treachery was afterwards brought against Lord George Murray. His character, however, has long since been completely cleared, and by no one was he more fully exonerated than by Charles himself. Had he yielded, indeed, to the entreaties of Hepburn of Keith, and adhered to the original project of attacking the enemy's camp, there can be little doubt that defeat and disaster would have been the results. "The Duke," says Home, "had certain information of the night march; and spies, who spoke the Gaelic language and wore the Highland dress, mixed with the rebels as they marched; but none of these spies knew anything of the intended attack, and it is believed the Duke supposed that the rebels intended only to approach his camp, take their ground in the night, and attack him in the morning, for the soldiers were ordered to lie down to rest with their arms by them." Whatever may have been the amount of the information which was conveyed to the Duke by his spies, it is certain that, with an army treble in number to that of his

* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 290.

opponents, and renovated, moreover, by sleep and their morning repast, he would have defeated the unfortunate Highlanders with even still greater ease than he subsequently did at Culloden.

About five o'clock in the morning, the Highlanders again found themselves on Culloden Moor, where they had the satisfaction of seeing themselves joined by Macdonald of Keppoch and the Frasers, an accession of strength which occasioned universal joy in the army. Charles repaired to his old quarters at Culloden House, where with much difficulty some bread and whiskey were procured for him. Fatigued by his night's march, he had lain himself down to rest, when between seven and eight o'clock — less than three hours after his return to Culloden — he was roused from his slumbers, and informed that the enemy's cavalry was not more than two miles distant, and the main body of their army not above four miles.

The Prince, accompanied by the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, and Lord John Drummond, immediately mounted his horse and rode to the field. A cannon was fired to assemble the sleeping or scattered Highlanders; the drums were ordered to beat, and the pipes to play the gatherings of their respective clans. Unfortunately, both officers and men were found to be scattered in all directions. "Through their great want of sleep, meat, and drink," says Macdonald, "many had slipped off to take some refreshment in Inverness, Culloden, and the neighbourhood, and others to three or four miles distance, where they had friends and acquaintances; and the

said refreshment so lulled them asleep, that, designing to take one hour's rest or two, they were afterwards surprised and killed in their beds. By this means we wanted in the action at least one-third of our best men, and of those who did engage many had hurried back from Inverness, and, upon the alarm of the enemy's approach, both gentlemen and others, as I did myself, having taken only one drink of ale to supply all my need."*

Notwithstanding the vast superiority on the part of the Duke of Cumberland's army, and the disadvantages under which the Highlanders laboured from the want of sleep and food, they exhibited no signs of despondency; but, on the contrary, as the lines of their opponents neared them, they raised repeated huzzas, which were responded to no less exultingly by the royalists. The Prince, on his part, appeared in excellent spirits, and spoke confidently of gaining the victory. Previous to the battle, he rode along the lines of his army, exhorting the Highlanders, by his words and gestures, to exceed even the valour which they had displayed at Falkirk and Preston. He was answered by the most enthusiastic cheers, and by the most eloquent professions of devotion and love.

The insurgent army was composed of two lines. The first consisted of the Athol brigade, the Camerons, the Stuarts, and some other clans, and was headed by Lord George Murray; the second line was formed principally of the Low Country and foreign regiments and the Irish piquets, and was commanded by General Stapleton. On the right of the first line, and some-

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 509.

what behind it, was stationed the first troop of horse-guards, and, on the left of the second line, a troop of Fitzjames's horse. The reserve consisted of Lord Kilmarnock's regiment of foot-guards, and the remains of Lord Pitsligo's and Lord Strathallen's horse. Charles placed himself on a small eminence behind the right of the second line, with Lord Balmerino's troop of horse-guards and a troop of Fitzjames's horse.

On perceiving the disposition of the insurgent troops, the Duke of Cumberland formed his own army into three lines; each wing being supported by cavalry, and two pieces of cannon being placed between every two regiments which composed the first line. In all former engagements with the royal forces, the Highlanders had obtained a great advantage from the skilful manner in which they had contrived to receive the points of their enemy's bayonets on their targets, and then, forcing the bayonet on one side, thrusting their dirks or broadswords into the exposed and defenceless bodies of their adversaries. In order to obviate the effect of this successful manœuvre, the Duke had carefully instructed his soldiers, instead of directing their thrust at the man immediately opposite to them, to aim at the one who fronted their right-hand comrade, by which means the Highlander would be wounded under the sword-arm before he could ward off the thrust.

Having completed the disposition of his army, which was done with great skill, the Duke addressed his followers in a short speech. He implored them to be cool and collected; to remember the great stake for which they were about to fight, and to dismiss the

remembrance of all former disasters from their minds. He was unwilling, he said, to believe that there could be any man in the British army who had a disinclination to fight; but should there be any, he added, who, from being averse to the cause or from having relations in the rebel army, would prefer to retire, he begged them in God's name to do so, as he would far sooner face the Highlanders with a thousand determined men to support him, than be backed by an army of ten thousand if a tithe of them should be lukewarm. This appeal was responded to by the most enthusiastic shouts, and by loud cries of "Flanders! Flanders!" It being now one o'clock, it was submitted to the Duke that the soldiers should be allowed to dine before they went into action. But to this he decidedly objected. "The men," he said, "will fight better and more actively with empty bellies; and, moreover, it would be a bad omen. You remember what a dessert they got to their dinner at Falkirk!"

The battle commenced by the artillery of the two armies opening their fire at each other; that of the Highlanders was ill-pointed and ill-served, their balls passing over the heads of their adversaries, and doing but little execution; while the royal cannon, being served with great precision, made dreadful havoc in the ranks of the insurgents. Two pieces of artillery were pointed, and several discharges were made, at the spot where Charles was stationed with his small body of cavalry. Several of his troopers were shot, and he himself had a narrow escape, his face being bespattered with the dirt thrown up by one of the balls,

and a servant who was holding a led horse being killed by his side.

The cannonading had continued for some time, when the Highlanders, rendered furious by the galling fire which was thinning them, and thirsting to revenge their fallen comrades, could no longer be restrained from dashing against the enemy. The Macintoshes, who had never before been in action, were the first to rush forward, when Lord George Murray, perceiving that the rest of the clans who formed the right line could be kept back no longer, gave the order for the attack. Immediately raising one loud shout, and brandishing their broadswords, the Highlanders,—heedless alike of the smoke and hail which poured full in their faces, and of the galling grapeshot which swept through their ranks,—rushed furiously against the firm ranks and fixed bayonets of their opponents.* So impetuous was this first onset, that they broke through Monro's and Burrel's regiments, and made themselves masters of two pieces of cannon. Having broken through the first line, they were dashing madly forward, when they encoun-

* "It was the emphatic custom of the Highlanders, before an onset, to *scrug their bonnets*,—that is, to pull their little blue caps down over their brows, so as to ensure them against falling off in the ensuing *mêlée*. Never, perhaps, was this motion performed with so much emphasis as on the present occasion, when every man's forehead burned with the desire to revenge some dear friend who had fallen a victim to the murderous artillery. A Lowland gentleman, who was in the line, and who survived till a late period, used always, in relating the events of Culloden, to comment, with a feeling of something like awe, upon the terrific and more than natural expression of rage which glowed on every face and gleamed on every eye, as he surveyed the extended line at this moment. It was an exhibition of terrible passion, never to be forgotten by the beholder." *Chambers*, p. 85.

tered the second, which the Duke, — foreseeing the probability of what actually occurred,—had purposely strengthened and stationed so as to support the first line, in the event of its being broken by the onset of the clans. Drawn up three deep, — the front rank kneeling, the second bending forward, and the third standing upright, — they reserved their fire till the Highlanders had come within a yard of the point of their bayonets, when they poured in so well-directed and destructive a fire as to throw them into utter confusion. Mingling together in the greatest disorder, and with little distinction of regiments or clans, these brave men had no choice but to retreat. Some few, indeed, continued to dash furiously against the enemy, but not one of them returned to tell the tale of his valour. So dreadful was the slaughter at this particular part of the field, that after the action the bodies of the unfortunate Highlanders are said to have been found in *layers of three and four deep.*

Thus an entire rout took place of the whole right and of the centre of the insurgent army. They had performed all that could be expected from the most romantic valour, and, opposed as they were to overpowering numbers, it was no disgrace to them that they fled. Many of their chieftains were either killed or trampled down. Among the latter was the gallant Lochiel, who fell from the effects of his wounds, but, fortunately, his two henchmen succeeded in carrying him from the field.

Had the Macdonalds, who were stationed on the left, charged simultaneously with the other clans, it is far from improbable that victory would have been de-

cided in favour of Charles. They were disgusted, however, at having been removed from the post of honour, and in vain did their chieftain endeavour to lead them to the charge. "We of the clan Macdonald," says one of their officers, "thought it ominous that we had not this day the right hand in battle, as formerly at Gladsmuir and at Falkirk, and which our clan maintains we had enjoyed in all our battles and struggles since the battle of Bannockburn."* Stubborn in their displeasure, they resisted every entreaty which was made to induce them to advance. In vain did the Duke of Perth shout the well-known "Claymore!" and in vain did he tell them that it lay in their power to make the left wing a right, in which case he would hereafter be proud to adopt the surname of Macdonald. In vain did the gallant Keppoch urge them to follow him, — "My God!" exclaimed the chieftain in the agony of the moment, "have the children of my tribe forsaken me?" Uttering these words, with a drawn sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other, he rushed forward at the head of a few of his own kinsmen. He had proceeded, however, only a few paces, when a musket-shot brought him to the ground, and he had only time to entreat his favourite nephew to consult his own safety, before the breath deserted his body.† But not even did this romantic act of self-devotion produce any effect on the enraged clansmen. Unflinchingly enduring the galling fire of the English infantry, they are described, in the height of their

* Macdonald's Journal, Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 510.

† See Jacobite Memoirs, p. 425.

exasperated feelings, as hewing up the heath with their swords, and calmly gazing on the last agonies of their dying chieftain. It was not till they beheld the other clans give way that they fell back and joined them; but, at this moment, Hawley's regiment of dragoons and the Argyleshire Highlanders pulled down a park wall that covered their right flank, and the cavalry, falling in among them, threw them into the utmost confusion. Thus was completed the entire discomfiture of the Highland clans, and had it not been that the French and Irish piquets covered them by a close and spirited fire, their retreat must have been converted into a most disastrous rout.

Exhibiting every symptom of the bitterest agony, and with tears rolling down his face, Charles beheld, from the eminence on which he stood, the flight of his followers, and the annihilation of his fondest hopes. There still remained the Lowland troops, and the French and Irish piquets: and at the moment when the Highlanders were retreating before the overpowering force of the English infantry, Lord Elcho is said to have ridden up to the ill-fated Prince, and to have implored him by all that was sacred to place himself at the head of the reserve, and to make a last effort to change the fortune of the day. His entreaties proving of no avail, Lord Elcho, — who had risked fortune, life, and everything that the heart holds most dear in the cause of the Stuarts,—is stated to have turned from him with a bitter curse, declaring that he would never see his face again: it is added, moreover, that he kept his word, and when they were both exiles in a foreign country, that he invariably

quitted Paris whenever Charles entered that city.* Such is the story which has often been related, but which, in fact, appears to be little worthy of credit. On the contrary, several of the Prince's officers declared, in the most solemn manner, that they had seen their unfortunate master forced from the field by Sir Thomas Sheridan, and others of his Irish officers; and we have more particularly the evidence of the cornet who carried the standard of the second troop of horse guards, who left a dying attestation that he himself saw the Prince earnestly urging his officers to make a fresh charge at the head of the reserve, and that he would have done so had not O'Sullivan seized the bridle of his horse, and, assisted by Sheridan, forced him from the field. "When Charles," says Home, "saw the Highlanders repulsed and flying, which he had never seen before, he advanced, it is said, to go down and rally them; but the earnest entreaties of his tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and others, who assured him that it was impossible, prevailed upon him to leave the field."†

* "Some suspicion," says Lord Mahon, "should attach to the whole of this story, because the latter part is certainly unfounded. The official account now lies before me of Charles's first public audience at the Court of France after his return, and amongst the foremost of his train on that occasion appears Lord Elcho. I must further observe that Lord Elcho was a man of most violent temper, and no very constant fidelity. Within two months from the date of this battle, he made overtures for pardon to the British Court, 'but,' says Horace Walpole, 'as he has distinguished himself beyond all the Jacobite commanders by brutality, and insults, and cruelty to our prisoners, I think he is likely to remain where he is;' and so he did!"—*History of England*, vol. iii. p. 458.

† History of the Rebellion, p. 239.

Being closely pressed by the royal forces, the remainder of Charles's little army which still remained unbroken had no choice but to seek safety in flight. A part of the second line, indeed, quitted the field with tolerable regularity, their pipes playing and colours flying; and the French auxiliaries marched in good order to Inverness; the rest, however, fled in the utmost confusion, and many of the Highlanders never paused for a moment till they found themselves in their own homes in the distant Highlands. The royalists computed their loss at the battle of Culloden at three hundred and ten men; that of the insurgents is stated to have been a thousand.

After quitting the fatal field, the Highland army divided themselves into two bodies, one of which took the road to Inverness, while the latter made the best of their way to the Highlands. The former—in consequence of their route lying along an open moor, where they were easily overtaken by the enemy's light horse — suffered dreadfully in the pursuit. The five miles, indeed, which lay between the field of battle and Inverness, presented one frightful scene of dead bodies, carnage, and blood. Many who, from motives of curiosity, had approached to witness the battle, fell victims to the indiscriminate vengeance of the victors. The latter, by their disgraces and discomfitures, had been provoked to the most savage thirst for revenge. The writer of a contemporary letter observes, "By this time our horse and dragoons had closed in upon them from both wings, and then followed a general carnage. The moor was covered with blood; and our men, what

with killing the enemy, dabbling their feet in the blood, and splashing it about one another, *looked like so many butchers!*" * It is remarkable, that the troops who seemed to take the greatest pleasure in butchering the flying and defenceless Highlanders, were the craven dragoons who had behaved in so dastardly a manner at Colt Bridge, Preston, and Falkirk. Their conduct at Culloden presented a curious exemplification of the old Latin proverb, that when a coward finds himself a conqueror he is always the most cruel.

The scenes which were acted on the field of battle were even more frightful than those which were perpetrated on the main road. "Not contented," says Smollett, "with the blood which was so profusely shed in the heat of action, they traversed the field after the battle, and massacred those miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring: nay, some officers acted a part in this cruel scene of assassination—the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninspired by sentiment, untinctured by humanity."† "The road from Culloden to Inverness," says the

* Scot's Magazine, April, 1746.

† History of England, vol. iii. p. 229. In still more powerful language, Smollett, in his "Tears of Scotland," has described the frightful horrors which disgraced the victory of Culloden:—

"Yet, when the rage of battle ceased,
The victor's soul was not appeased;
The naked and forlorn must feel
Devouring flames, and murdering steel!
The pious mother, doomed to death,
Forsaken wanders o'er the heath;
The bleak wind whistles round her head,
Her helpless orphans cry for bread;

Chevalier de Johnstone, "was everywhere strewed with dead bodies. The Duke of Cumberland had the cruelty to allow our wounded to remain amongst the dead on the field of battle, stripped of their clothes, from Wednesday, the day of our unfortunate engagement, till three o'clock on the afternoon of Friday, when he sent detachments to kill all those who were still in life; and a great many, who had resisted the effects of the continual rains, were then dispatched."*

The almost unparalleled barbarities which were permitted by the Duke of Cumberland after the battle of Culloden (barbarities which he speaks of with brutal jocularity, in one of his letters to the Duke of Newcastle, as "a little blood-letting")† ought rather to have stamped him as a monster of iniquity, than to have assisted to procure for him those honours and rewards which were showered upon him for his easy victory over an army so inferior in numbers to his own, and who, moreover, were labouring under every possible disadvantage. The ferocity and vindictiveness which he displayed towards his unfortunate opponents, who,—mistaken though we may admit them to have been, had committed no crime

Bereft of shelter, food, and friend,
She views the shades of night descend;
And stretched beneath th' inclement skies,
Weeps o'er her tender babes and dies.
While the warm blood bedews my veins,
And unimpaired remembrance reigns,
Resentment of my country's fate,
Within my filial breast shall beat."

* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 197.

† Coxe's Pelham Administration, vol. i. p. 303.

but that of bravely defending their principles, and chivalrously supporting the cause of a Prince whom they conscientiously believed to be their rightful master, — will ever deservedly continue to be a blot on his name. It is impossible, indeed, to reflect on the promiscuous slaughter of the flying and unresisting Highlanders after the battle of Culloden, on the numerous murders which were subsequently committed in cold blood, and on the numbers which were sacrificed on the gallows, without execrating the authors of these detestable barbarities.

There were unquestionably persons in the ranks of the insurgent army—men of influence and family—who adopted the cause of their unfortunate master as much from motives of self-interest as from any principles of duty, and who, as the instigators of others, and as the more active and prominent disturbers of peace and good order, might with propriety have been made severe examples of by the Government. But there could be neither justice nor policy in hanging up, in almost countless numbers, the brave and devoted clansmen, who were not competent, either by education or any other means, to form a proper estimate of what might be the consequences of their embarking in a rash but gallant cause, or of the true merits of the quarrel in which they were unhappily engaged. They knew little more than what they had heard from their fathers—that the Stuarts were their hereditary and rightful sovereigns; while both duty and inclination told them to follow the orders of their chieftains, whose principles almost invariably regu-

lated their own.* The strange and almost ridiculous stories which at this period were generally current, of the wild habits and ferocious character of the Highland clansmen, had unquestionably the effect of turning aside much of that generous commiseration which would otherwise have been excited by the illegal massacres of the Duke of Cumberland and his executioner-in-chief, General Hawley. When the world, however, came to reflect more dispassionately on the frightful effusion of blood of which these persons were the principal authors, they naturally viewed the conduct, as well as the military abilities, of the Duke in their proper light, and grew to execrate that man under the name of "the Butcher," whom, only a few months before, they had nearly exalted into an idol.

It has already been mentioned, that for as long as two days after the battle of Culloden, many of the wounded were inhumanly allowed to remain mingled with the dead, and enduring, as they must have done, all the horrors of bodily pain, of intolerable thirst, and the agonies of hope deferred. The greater number of the wounded, indeed, were dispatched by parties of the victors who traversed the

* "The idea of patriarchal obedience," says Sir Walter Scott, "was so absolute, that when some Lowland gentlemen were extolling with wonder the devotion of a clansman, who had sacrificed his own life to preserve that of his chief, a Highlander who was present coldly observed, that he saw nothing wonderful in the matter—he only did his duty; had he acted otherwise, he would have been a poltroon and a traitor. To punish men who were bred in such principles, for following their chiefs into war, seems as unjust as it would be to hang a dog for the crime of following his master."—*Tales of a Grandfather*, vol. iii. p. 300, note.

field after the battle, stabbing some with their bayonets, and cutting down others with their swords; and through this frightful scene, the Duke of Cumberland not only calmly passed with his staff, but even took his share in the painful tragedy. As he rode along among the dying and the dead, he perceived a young man—Charles Fraser, the younger, of Inverallachy, who held a commission as Lieutenant-colonel in Fraser of Lovat's regiment—who was lying wounded on the ground, but who raised himself up on his elbow, as the Duke and his followers passed. The Duke inquired of him to whom he belonged. "To the Prince!" was the undaunted reply. The Duke instantly turned to Major Wolfe, who was near him, and desired him to shoot "that insolent scoundrel." "My commission," said Wolfe, "is at the disposal of your Royal Highness, but I cannot consent to become an executioner." After one or two other ineffectual attempts to induce some officers who were near him to pistol the unfortunate Highlander, the Duke, perceiving a common soldier, inquired of him if his piece was loaded? The man replying in the affirmative, he commanded him to perform the required duty, which was instantly done.* How widely different was the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland and the English after the battle of Culloden, to the humanity and consideration which Charles and his gallant Highlanders displayed towards their wounded enemies, when they found themselves victors at Falkirk!

* Chambers, p. 87. From a critique upon Home's History of the Rebellion, in *the Antijacobin Review*, vol. xiii. by the late Sir Henry Steuart, of Allanton, Bart.

As some palliation for the frightful scenes which were enacted after the battle, it was alleged that the order for massacring the wounded originated in the humane purpose of putting them out of pain! It was insisted also, as a further justification of the indiscriminate slaughter which took place on the road to Inverness, that a regimental order was found on the person of one of the insurgents, signed by Lord George Murray, in which the Highlanders were enjoined, in the event of their gaining the victory, to give no quarter to the King's troops. No such order, however, was ever seen or heard of by any of the insurgents, nor is there the slightest reason to believe that it, in fact, ever existed.

It might have been advanced by the Duke of Cumberland and his admirers, with some appearance of reason, that the excesses which disgraced the victory of Culloden were the result of a stern but necessary policy; a policy which was called for in order to strike terror into the surviving followers of Charles, who, though defeated, were still formidable, and were capable of being re-assembled and arrayed against the King's troops. It might also have been argued, with the same show of reason, that the carnage which took place was partly the result of the exasperated feelings and brute-like propensities of the common soldiers, who, inflamed by the victory which they had obtained over a foe who had lately been their conquerors, were not unlikely to wreak their vengeance in too summary and merciless a manner.

But none of these arguments hold good, as regards the terrible catalogue of ravages, slaughters, and executions, which were subsequently perpetrated in cold blood. The victors carried havoc and bloodshed, and all the frightful extremities of war, into the castle of the chieftain and the cabin of the peasant; they spread ruin and desolation among a free, a gallant, and warm-hearted people, whose only crime was their loyalty to their legitimate Prince; women and children, whose husbands and brothers had been murdered, and whose homes had been burned to the ground, were seen shivering in the clefts of the rocks, dying of cold and hunger; and it is a fact, that at Fort Augustus women were stripped of their clothes, and made to run races naked on horseback for the amusement of the brutal garrison. "When the men were slain," says Sir Walter Scott, "the houses burnt, and the herds and flocks driven off, the women and children perished from famine in many instances, or followed the track of the plunderers, begging for the blood and offal of their own cattle, slain for the soldiers' use, as the miserable means of supporting a wretched life." *

One of the first acts of severity committed by the Duke of Cumberland, was to hang thirty-six deserters from the royal army who had joined the standard of the adventurer.† Nineteen wounded officers be-

* Tales of a Grandfather, vol. iii. p. 302.

† Among these was a relation of Lord Forbes. For a curious anecdote connected with his execution, see Chevalier de Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 203.

longing to the Highland army, were dragged from a wood in which they had sought refuge, and carried into the court-yard of Culloden House, where the greater number were shot, and the rest, who showed any symptoms of life, had their brains knocked out by the soldiery. In one instance, a hut, which contained a number of wounded Highlanders, was set fire to by the soldiers, when not only was every individual who attempted to escape immediately bayoneted, but when the building was burnt to the ground, as many as thirty corpses were found blackened by the flames.

The fate of such of the survivors of the battle of Culloden, who were dragged to prison, was scarcely less terrible. Great numbers were confined in the church and tolbooth of Inverness, where, deprived of clothes, and allowed only so small a quantity of meal daily as was scarcely sufficient to support life, they passed a miserable existence, till they were carried on board ship, in order to be sent to London and placed at the disposal of the Government. Their condition at sea was even worse than on land. They were thrust half naked into the holds of the different vessels, where they slept on the stones which formed the ballast; their sole allowance of drink being a bottle of cold water, and their amount of daily food being no more than about ten ounces of an inferior kind of oatmeal to each man. Even at this distance of time the heart almost sickens with the details of the horrors and privations to which these faithful and gallant people were subjected. Of a large number

of human beings who were shipped to Barbadoes, many died on ship-board; and of eighty-one who reached their pestilential destination, three years afterwards only eighteen were left to point out the graves of their companions, and to bewail their own fate. Human nature revolts at such sickening details. On board of one vessel, in which one hundred and fifty-seven of these brave but unfortunate men had been embarked, so great was the mortality occasioned by the cruel deprivations which they had to endure, that after the lapse of eight months,—during the whole of which time they were kept huddled together on board ship, — only forty-nine individuals survived to tell the tale of the miseries to which they had been exposed.*

In regard to the terrible policy adopted by the Duke of Cumberland, and carried out by his brutal agents, the following account, extracted from the dying declaration of one of the unfortunate victims on the scaffold, may be taken as a specimen.† "I was put," says the unhappy sufferer, "into one of the Scotch kirks, together with a great number of wounded prisoners, who were stripped naked, and then left to die of their wounds without the least assistance; and though we had a surgeon of our own, a prisoner in the same place, yet he was not permitted

* See Donald Macleod's Narrative, Jacobite Memoirs, p. 406, &c.

† The principal agents in carrying out the Duke's brutal policy, were his "executioner-in-chief," General Hawley, Lieutenant-colonel Howard, Captain Caroline Scott, and Major Lockhart. It is natural, perhaps, as an Englishman, to feel some satisfaction in recording that two out of the number were Scotchmen.

to dress their wounds, but his instruments were taken from him on purpose to prevent it; and in consequence of this many expired in the utmost agonies. Several of the wounded were put on board the "Jean" of Leith, and there died in lingering tortures. Our general allowance, while we were prisoners there, was half a pound of meal a-day, which was sometimes increased to a pound, but never exceeded it; and I myself was an eye-witness, that great numbers were starved to death. Their barbarity extended so far as not to suffer the men who were put on board the "Jean," to lie down even on planks, but they were obliged to sit on large stones, by which means their legs swelled as big almost as their bodies. These are some few of the cruelties exercised, which being almost incredible in a Christian country, I am obliged to add an asservation to the truth of them; and I do assure you, upon the word of a dying man, as I hope for mercy at the day of judgment, I assert nothing but what I know to be true." *

These merciless inhumanities, it must be remembered, were independent of the numerous legal executions which were permitted by the Government, and to which we shall not at present refer. The details, indeed, of the almost demoniac retribution exacted by the Duke of Cumberland and his myrmidons, would appear almost too dreadful to be cre-

* "Paper read by Mr. James Bradshaw, and delivered by him to the Sheriff of Surrey, just before his execution, on Friday, November 28, 1746."

dited, were they not fully substantiated on the most undoubted authority. Their truth, indeed, is built, not on the partial exaggerations of the defeated Jacobites, but by persons of high integrity, station, and honour, and, in many instances, by the partizans of the Government, and by the victors themselves.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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